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# SOCIAL EDUCATION

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## Editor's Page

### FACING OUR FAILURES

**E**DUCATION for democratic citizenship in the United States, we are often reminded these days, is falling short of its goals. Crime figures, the indifference or inertia of unemployed youth, the relatively low percentage of citizens who vote, the menace of propaganda, the threat of fascism or communism—all these are cited as challenges to the schools and to their program of civic education. The fact that these problems of society are referred to the schools and in large part to social studies classes indicates, however, that the goals of civic education have been shifting, becoming far more difficult to attain, and possibly requiring different approaches and equipment than formerly seemed necessary.

### FROM GENERAL TO PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE

**U**NTIL the close of the nineteenth century most schools did not attempt to do much more in what we now call the social studies than teach information, drawn from history, geography, and civics, about the United States and other lands. The information was regarded as useful to citizens, and necessary to all who were considered "educated"; it usually carried a slight patriotic and nationalistic coloring associated with good civic attitudes. Good teachers could and did do far more, but manners, morals, vocational guidance and individual adjustment, provision for rounded development, and personality growth were not primarily school responsibilities. Textbooks, recitations, tests, and maintenance of discipline

met all ordinary expectations. Misfits could drop out and be absorbed elsewhere in society.

By 1916 it was possible to point out that so simple a program had become inadequate. The Committee on the Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education urged attention to immediate problems, recommended the addition of economics and implied the addition of sociology to the curriculum, and brought vocational civics into the social studies program. Teachers were thus invited to re-learn their history, geography, and civics, to take on the new subjects of economics, sociology, and perhaps social psychology, to accept some responsibility for vocational guidance, and to relate their teaching to immediate needs of society. The goal of social studies teaching shifted considerably, and a parallel acceptance of responsibility for formal teaching of current events made the footing more slippery and necessitated still more competence. Rigorous and rounded teacher preparation began to be essential. Textbooks, recitations, and tests were becoming to be regarded more generally as inadequate.

### UNDERSTANDING AND CONDUCT

**L**EADERS were already urging that mere knowledge of facts is not enough—that understanding is the real goal. The point seems obvious. It means, however, that textbook assignments and recitations are inadequate. Wider reading, for different points of view and interpretation, is needed. Full discussion with maximum pupil participation is necessary. Increased

direct pupil experience becomes highly important. The strain on teacher training and classroom skills becomes appreciably greater. As new social problems have emerged and as issues have become increasingly controversial, the strain has become greater yet.

Following this very significant shift in objective, moreover, there came a demand that schools should provide not only knowledge and understanding but also actual "training in citizenship"—through student government and activities, opportunities for leadership and followership, and interest and participation in community affairs. Pupil conduct and experience have accordingly been swung into the social studies program; activities once extracurricular have come to be regarded as curricular. The schools, and in large measure the social studies, have assumed direct responsibility for developing and providing practice in good citizenship and have become answerable at least implicitly for bad citizenship. A good deal has accordingly been added to that simple teaching of rather elementary information about geographical environment, the past, and government machinery which once constituted the school program in formal civic education.

#### LET THE SCHOOLS DO IT

**N**EW problems and new needs have continued to add to the obligations assumed by or assigned to the schools and the social studies. The Report of the Commission on the Social Studies speaks of the supreme goal of social studies teaching as the development of rich and many-sided personalities. Even after it is pointed out that this is the goal not of social studies teaching alone but of all education, both in school and out, such an objective adds heavily, if a bit vaguely, to social studies obligations.

More specific are new problems which society has recently referred to the schools as the impact of machine civilization has created or increased strains in unemployment, in youth problems, in crime, disease,

family and sex relationships, in use of leisure, and in our democratic institutions. In all of these areas there has been a tendency to turn the problem, in part at least, over to the schools, and many educators have been willing to accept the new assignments. No doubt the assignments are appropriate, and the willingness altogether commendable. But it should be recognized that the purposes of education and the nature of civic education have thereby been changed further, and enormously complicated. It may well be asked whether the resources of the schools, and their competence, have been correspondingly increased. If not, the situation is dangerous, for the new responsibilities are not trivial and unimportant, and in some instances other agencies for coping with their failures are lacking or obviously inadequate.

#### THE SCHOOL POPULATION GROWS COMPLEX

**E**VEN the simple teaching of elementary information has become more difficult as an increasing proportion of youth of school age has remained in school. The rapid increase in numbers alone has put a heavy strain on education. Junior high schools have had to be staffed with teachers not specifically trained for this level. Many recruits have been needed at all levels, and neither their training nor their other qualifications have been too carefully scrutinized, though in general pre-training has improved substantially. No adequate program for continued or in-service training has been developed.

As the total school population has grown, more and more "non-academic" pupils have had to be taught—and as yet we have not worked out either a satisfactory curriculum or satisfactory learning procedures for them. The resulting maladjustment raises problems of personality, social attitudes, and conduct.

The urgent needs of pupils who will not go on to college, and for whom traditional college preparatory work is unsuited, have led to the progressive abandonment of tra-



ditional courses and often of high standards. Adequate substitutes for high ability students have usually not been found. Again there is maladjustment; the ablest pupils are unstimulated, allowed to drift. Citizenship problems again arise, and acutely.

We have not been willing to go far in differentiating the school program according to pupil abilities. Vocational education in the schools has been kept distinct from any kind of apprenticeship or program of training on the job with the cooperation of industry and business. Training in citizenship in schools has been kept, as a rule, far from actual participation in adult civic affairs. Lack of realism coupled with the limited contact of teachers with social realities has made the adaptation of the school programs to the changing needs of the school population extremely difficult.

#### THE SCHOOL'S RESPONSE

THE schools, and the social studies with them, have actually gone far in meeting new needs. Expanded and more elaborate school plants, and more numerous and varied school activities are part of the evidence. Educational psychology and new educational philosophies have greatly modified school and classroom discipline, teaching and learning procedures, and, somewhat at least, the allocation of authority and responsibility between administrators, teachers, and pupils.

The curriculum has changed—changed on the whole far faster than teachers have been trained or retrained, and than needed teaching materials have been developed. Old subjects have been made over—a quiet revolution in the curriculum that has not had due attention. A few old subjects have dropped out; some new ones, together with many types of “orientation,” have been added. Many types of new subject-matter organization have been attempted—correlation, fusion, various forms of integration—none, so far, with notable success. Changes in classroom procedures and in introducing new school recreational and social activities have

run far ahead of satisfactory curriculum development.

#### CURRICULUM WEAKNESSES

SEVERAL factors have contributed to the failure to develop a satisfactory curriculum. Continuing changes in the school population in subject matter, and in social needs are obvious factors.

Curricula have been built for the school population as a whole, with the result that the most intellectually gifted and the least academically inclined have suffered.

Often those who have reconstructed the curriculum have lacked competence in the subject matter fields with which they have been concerned, with the result that courses of study have not been realistic, reliable, or teachable.

Many of the reorganizations in which various subject fields have been concerned have overtaxed the background and competence of teachers, forcing them to superficiality and to teaching that is neither informed and illuminating nor stimulating and satisfying. Neither teacher training nor the publication of classroom materials has met the needs, and it is highly questionable that they or the capacity of teachers to develop competence over a range of fields can ever do so.

Finally, much of the curriculum-revision movement has been more notable for unceasing starting of something novel than for following through and evaluating what has already been started. The resulting confusion has been increased by a tendency to adopt “experimentally” programs that have not been tried out, and to put them in operation without regard to library and staff resources, teaching loads, competent leadership, or provision for evaluation. Real experimentation in social studies teaching and the development of civic competence has been extremely rare.

#### OUR FIRST OBJECTIVE

WE are not likely to reduce our failures until we have analyzed needs and faced them specifically. “Good citizenship”

and "rich and many-sided personalities" are reasonable objectives for education as a whole. They are of little help as teachers face a class or plan a unit or a term's work in social studies. They are as much the concern of school administration, of all school activities, and of all subjects as of the social studies.

One specific, and heavy, responsibility is peculiar to the social studies—the obligation to develop an informed citizenry, aware of the historical and geographical backgrounds, and familiar with the political, economic, and social institutions of the world in which they live. That is an extremely important need in a democratic society, and a need of all individuals who wish to be at home in such a society.

The extent to which individuals can be informed varies, of course. The ideal for able students is full and rounded knowledge, matured into understanding and insight, tempered by awareness of how our knowledge is derived and of what it is worth.

For others the total amount of knowledge must be less, and understanding correspondingly limited. A larger proportion of the knowledge may come from observation and experience rather than from reading. But again some knowledge of how we get knowledge and of what it is worth is important. On it rests realization of the role of experts in our technical society.

Many ways of organizing knowledge about society are possible. No one stands proved as most effective, and none can until we can answer the question "Effective for what?" There are many possible answers. The first and inescapable one for social studies in a democracy is "Effective for informing young citizens about the society in which they live."

#### URGENT NEEDS

**I**F the objectives of good citizenship, of personal development, and, as part of both, of an informed citizenry are to be attained several realities must be faced.

Vocational training, perhaps in the form of combined apprenticeship and school attendance, is necessary for some youth now in school.

Greater attention to the out-of-school activities of under-privileged youth—perhaps all youth—is necessary. Schools can not in a few hours counteract the adverse and often emotionally powerful influences of a far greater number of hours.

The preparation of teachers, their teaching load, the range of subject matter and experience for which they are responsible, the total weight of their responsibilities, and their opportunities for growth need far more careful attention. In the social studies field the load has become crushing and has made real competence impossible for all except a favored few. Some substantial scholarship in history or social science, based, as in other fields these days, on specialization, must be demanded and protected if social studies teaching is to command respect, interest pupils, and develop knowledge, understanding, and desired skills and attitudes.

Teacher training institutions, school administrators, and organizations like the National Council for the Social Studies, with their program for professional aid to teachers in service, must all take a hand if the general objectives of education and the specific objectives of the social studies are to be met, and if existing confusion and failures are to yield to a clear-cut program of preparation for democratic citizenship.

ERLING M. HUNT

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# Making Nazis in Czechoslovakia

NATHANIEL P. CLOUGH

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A TOURIST can hardly visualize a more ideal natural environment for factory workers than Sudetenland. Factories are located in regions of great natural beauty where people from all over the world have come to "take the cure." Nestled in little valleys, surrounded by beautiful green hills, small groups of factories are clustered together with no foul air and no slums. Each worker can have a little farm and supplement his wages by growing vegetables, and keeping cows, pigs, and chickens.

Yet the Sudeten German worker since the World War has not been as independent as formerly, for his livelihood has depended upon fluctuations in distant lands, and those fluctuations have been violent. After the disruption of the Austro-Hungarian empire in 1918, industries of Sudetenland, which before the war produced mainly for the home market of the old empire, became largely dependent upon export trade, and, in spite of the fact that their former markets in the old Austria were now in a foreign country with foreign tariff barriers, they achieved a good deal of success in finding new markets. Sudeten German products, such as china, Bohemian cut glass, imitation jewelry, toys,

musical instruments, leather gloves, and textiles gained a world reputation. During the boom years as much as one third of Czechoslovakia's national production was exported, and most of the exporting industries were in the Sudeten German territory.

Therefore world depression, accompanied by special tariffs, import prohibitions, quotas, licenses, and other measures that caused international trade to shrink, hit the Sudetenland especially heavily. Compared with 1929, the value of Czechoslovakia's foreign trade declined in 1933, the year of deepest depression, by 71 per cent. In 1935 the value of glass exports was about 42 per cent of the figure for 1929, and of leather gloves about 49 per cent. In the same year the export of porcelain was only 32 per cent of that of the highest pre-crisis year, 1928. Just as in other countries, especially the United States, England, and Germany, the textile industry in Czechoslovakia, which in May 1930 had employed over 360,000 persons, suffered badly. In 1935 the exports of textile output, including clothing, represented about 27 per cent of the value of the total of Czechoslovakia's exports.

The economic situation of Czechoslovakia, including the Sudeten German territory, improved somewhat after 1934. There was a steady recovery of activities in the mining and smelting industries. Employment in the metal industry improved after 1933 owing to better home sales and rising exports. The timber industry as a whole participated in the economic recovery, registered since the year 1934. Exports of all kinds of chemical products and employment

This description of the methods by which Germany and German influence weakened and then absorbed Czechoslovakia is based on some years of study abroad and on personal observation last summer. Dr Clough teaches history at Brooklyn College.

in the industry improved steadily after 1933. By 1936 the total employment in the paper industry was favorable.

#### HENLEIN MOVEMENT AND OPPONENTS

NEVERTHELESS economic recovery in Sudetenland was too slow to absorb the persons who came of wage-earning age or to raise the standard of living of the Sudeten Germans to any marked degree. The consequence has been a growing unrest. It is well known that Hitler's National Socialist party in Germany remained unimportant until after the effects of the world crisis were felt by the German people. Then Hitler's followers increased tremendously. Unemployment, economic distress, and a future apparently without hope were factors that contributed numerical strength to Hitler's party in Germany, and the same factors were important in the development of Henlein's party in Czechoslovakia.

Economic suffering and unemployment were often welcomed by the Henlein leaders because it helped their movement. Dr Karl Janowsky, "minister of economy" of the Sudeten German party, considered unemployment and economic suffering actually beneficial to the Henlein movement. In a pamphlet published last summer, *Gross-deutschland und die sudetendeutsche Wirtschaft* (Greater Germany and the Sudeten Germany Economy), he wrote with evident satisfaction that the economic situation of the Sudeten Germans was made worse by the union of Austria and Germany. He seemed to find it quite in order that numerous Sudeten German factories were eliminated from the Austrian market to which they had exported for decades. The Sudeten porcelain industry, the glass, graphite, and textile industries all suffered important losses in their Austrian market. Before the Anschluss considerable timber was exported to Germany from the Sudeten German territory, but after the Anschluss this was replaced by timber from the Austrian Alpine country. In like fashion the Sudeten German coal export to Austria

could not compete with German coal not subject to any tariff. In spite of the fact that the commercial policy of Berlin, which was directed against Prague, resulted in harming primarily the Sudeten German economy, Sudeten German industrialists and their workers, Dr Janowsky and other leaders of the Sudeten German party, all seemed pleased. There was a direct proportional relation between the economic situation and the strength of the Sudeten German party.

ON the other hand, measures of economic and social assistance were advocated by the leaders of the German Social Democrats, who, except for the Communists, were the only organized German opponents of Henlein's party in Czechoslovakia. These proposals were submitted to Lord Runciman. Franz Rehwald, editor of the Social Democratic newspaper *Freigeist* in Reichenberg and the economic expert of the German Social Democratic party in Czechoslovakia, emphasized the necessity of obtaining an international loan to ameliorate conditions in the Sudeten district. The loan was to be used specifically for the benefit of new industrial undertakings in the Sudetenland, and for export and production credits in the distressed export industries. The Sudeten German Social Democrats also proposed, in their recommendations to Lord Runciman, that regional institutions should be created to increase exports in the distressed areas.

#### SABOTAGE OF HEALTH RESORTS

HENLEIN'S party's policies resulted in harming tourist trade and increasing economic distress in Carlsbad, Marienbad, and Franzensbad, world famous health resorts that constituted a great source of revenue in the Sudeten German area. The anti-Semitism of the Sudeten German party did not encourage Jews to spend their vacations at these resorts. The party did not allow the spas to be advertised over the Czech radio and forbade the soloists, choirs, and orchestras to participate in the program of



any Czechoslovak broadcasting stations. The director of the Carlsbad municipal theater was obliged, under pressure from the staff and the Sudeten German party, to cancel a broadcast already arranged for July 10, and the theater, which like other theaters was suffering from the depression, lost a substantial revenue. The staff, by helping to decrease the attractions for visitors, worked against its own economic interests. The Sudeten German party refused to push propaganda at home or in democratic countries for the purpose of attracting visitors. Before the depression there were frequently eighty thousand visitors in Carlsbad. In 1937 there were forty-five thousand, in 1938 only thirty thousand. In 1938 there were 65 per cent fewer visitors in Marienbad than in 1937. In Franzensbad the situation was still worse.

#### AGITATION AND PRESSURE

**T**ERRORISM on the part of the Henlein party resulted in the loss of one hundred and seventy-six industrial enterprises to the Sudeten Germans from March 15 to August 15, 1938. One of the greatest economic transactions was the sale, to the leading Czech bank, Zivnostenska Banka, of the greatest coal producing enterprise in Czechoslovakia, the Petschek lignite coal mines in northwest Bohemia. Four million tons were produced annually in the twenty-four mines where seventy-five hundred workers were employed. The reason for the sale was fear. The Petscheks were Jews and they feared the consequences of the anti-Semitic policies of the Henlein party. The sale meant a great loss to the Sudeten Germans. This is openly admitted by the nationalistic *Bruxer Zeitung* which wrote: "the Petscheks are not Germans, but neither were they enemies of Germanism. They always provided bread for the German worker without discrimination. They resisted the pressure of the extremist press and the nationalistic Czech organizations. For the Petschek family, the sale of the mines means giving away the jealously-guarded source of their wealth; and for the Sudeten German people and

settlers an enormous loss in employment."

This "enormous loss" was caused by National Socialist agitation and by the anti-Semitic frenzy of the officials of the concern who had already selected the new Führer of the plant in case it was "Aryanised." This action was taken in spite of the fact that the enterprise was managed entirely by Germans. With the mines in the hands of a Czech bank it was inevitable that eventually new employees and workers would be engaged to replace many of the Germans.

**B**LACKMAIL of various kinds and the boycott were weapons used against Sudeten German manufacturers who did not support the Henlein party. The situation of non-Aryan manufacturers, who were already persecuted by Henleinism for racial reasons, was particularly intolerable. Frequently head offices of firms in the Sudeten German area were transferred to Prague, as in the case of the paper factory of Spiro near Krumau which meant the loss to the Krumau city government of about half its total revenue in taxes. Removal of other factories from the politically dangerous German region to Czech districts caused a great many German employees to lose their work.

As early as June 27 about eight hundred members of the Sudeten German party staged a noisy demonstration in Tachau. They marched through the streets shouting "Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer" (one people, one country, one leader). Some began to yell "Out with the Jews." Dr Wilhelm Strass, lawyer and industrialist, had a window broken and the name plate for his firm demolished. The next day not only Jewish but also Aryan industrialists declared to the district authorities that, if this agitation did not stop, they would be obliged to remove their factories from Tachau. These enterprises employed about six hundred workers in a district where there was little industry and much economic distress.

Not street demonstrations but party agitation in the form of a whispering campaign

and continual pressure prevented one of the directors of the rayon factory in Theresien-thal from building a house and settling there. For the same reasons the commercial administration of the factory was transferred to Prague. As a result, many employees had to leave the community, the merchants and tradesmen of this village lost important customers, the community lost a large part of its income from taxes. This all happened because the director of the factory did not have racial qualities which appealed to National Socialists!

Czechs, Jews, Democratic Germans, everyone not a member of the Sudeten German party was subject to a boycott. Lists with names of business and professional men loyal to Henlein were handed to customers with instructions to buy only from "party comrades." One such list printed by a German firm in Olmütz contained names and addresses of dentists, laundries, vulcanizing shops, retail wine merchants and bars. In the *Volksruf* journal of Wollner, a deputy of the Sudeten German party, appeared the following notice in July: "In reply to various questions we declare that the hawker, Joseph von Schobrowitz, is not a member of the Sudeten German party. It is requested that hawkers and tradesmen shall always be asked to show their membership cards. Badges alone prove nothing."

**E**CONOMIC pressure was used against German peasants who refused to enter the Henlein party, as well as against Czech, German-Jewish, and democratic German industrialists, shop keepers, professional people, and workers. In the last municipal elections before the Munich agreement in the village of Petlarn in the West Bohemian district of Tachau, the democratic workers and farmers maintained their former majority. The Henlein party started an economic boycott against these pro-democratic peasants. They made their influence felt by preventing anyone from buying milk, butter, or cattle from the peasants. In this particular case, however, the boycott failed. A demo-

cratic alliance was formed between the peasants and socialist workers of Tachau. The socialist workers organized a purchasing plan and bought all their supplies from the pro-democratic farmers.

Economic pressure against opponents of the Sudeten German party was exercised in other ways. In August, 1938, I knew of a case in Reichenberg where a German Jew sold a radio to a member of the Sudeten German party. When the latter was asked to pay his bill, he said, "Why should I pay a Jew? Hitler will come soon and everything will be changed." He refused to pay.

In some cases workers who were members of the Sudeten German party were so affected by party propaganda that they took action which caused concerns where they were employed to lose valuable orders. The paper factory of I. Spiro and Sons in Potschmuhl, near Krumau, was one of the greatest factories in South Bohemia. After the Austrian Anschluss the factory union, which had existed for many years as a "company union" strongly supported by the factory owners, entered the camp of the Sudeten German party. Many workers, carried away with enthusiasm, plastered freight cars containing consignments of paper for democratic countries with inscriptions of "Heil Hitler," "Heil Henlein," "Ein Reich, ein Volk, ein Führer." This happened with the knowledge of officials and supervisors who also belonged to the Sudeten German party. The firm tried to stop this by having every freight car examined before it left the factory, but then complaints from customers began to arrive saying that the inscriptions were found inside.

#### METHODS OF RECRUITING

**S**EVERE pressure was used by members of the Sudeten German party against workers who refused to become party members. Two apprentices, employed in a silverware factory in Mährisch-Trubau, belonged to a Workers' gymnastic society. The owner offered to pay their membership dues, if they would leave their club and join the German

National gymnastic society. For attending a festival of their club, they were beaten by their fellow workers.

Pressure was used by Henlein followers against members of trade unions not controlled by their party. A worker named Edward Reinelt was dismissed on April 23 from a wood-working factory in Eichwald. The reason given was lack of work. Shortly afterwards, however, eight new workers were hired. Reinelt applied to the firm on July 13 again for work. What happened is shown by his sworn statement: "Herr Kurt Wunder (owner of the firm) asked me to which organization I belonged. I informed him that I was a member of the International Association of Metal Workers. Thereupon Herr Wunder told me that I could not get any job with his firm after becoming a member of this association."

According to the entries in the sickness insurance office in the district of Falkenau, not a single worker who was suspected of having democratic ideas obtained a position after the annexation of Austria.

Pro-democratic German workers were given the most difficult and most unpleasant tasks, but that was not all. Pro-Henlein workers propagandized them constantly. In a factory in Sudetenland the factory room was completely decorated with pictures of Henlein. When a worker who did not belong to the Sudeten German party entered the factory, he was always greeted by deafening cries of "Sieg Heil!" Henlein posters were pasted on his work bench. Unable to put up with this any longer Franz Mautsch asked his trade union to intervene. The state police had the Henlein pictures removed, but, in spite of the fact that Mautsch had been employed in the factory for many years, he was immediately dismissed.

The economic terror against workers not members of the Henlein party became so violent that the Czech government issued a decree prohibiting political pressure in factories, but this decree was boycotted in factories managed by Henlein adherents. The decree was posted according to law in

the factories, but in many of them a notice was posted by the management to the effect that as such conditions had never existed in their plants no one need pay any attention to the decree. Everything should continue as in the past!

Terror against pro-democratic workers was exercised often in factories owned by Jews. I talked with a socialist worker in a Jewish owned textile factory near Reichenberg whose life was made miserable by his fellow workers and bosses because he was a convinced Marxist. The Jewish owner was helpless to protect his own workers.

**W**HILE the pro-democratic German workers were victimized during their working hours, their wives and children were also subject to pressure: wives were ostracized socially, children were reproached in the schools by Henlein teachers and were not considered German by the Henlein youth. Children of ten and eleven were frequently beaten by other children because of the politics of their parents. A trade union leader in an industrial district in North East Bohemia told me that, although he was a good German, life for his children had been made so difficult that he was forced to send them away to Czech schools,

**M**ANY unemployed Sudeten German workers took advantage of the labor shortage in Germany and crossed the frontier to find work, but none except members of the Henlein party were given employment. Although, for instance, a glass-polisher from the Bohemian Forest received work in Germany, after a few days he was dismissed because he did not belong to the Sudeten German party and had no working-permit from the local party headquarters in his home town. I have before me, as I write, a copy of a letter sent by the mayor of Muldenberg in Saxony on July 26 to a Sudeten German who had worked for a week on the auto highways in Germany. The letter demanded that the worker leave Germany territory within twenty-four hours because



he did not belong to the Sudeten German party. And from another town, Spiller, I have a copy of a letter sent on July 23 to a Sudeten German worker by a German police official. In this letter the worker is requested to bring documentary proof in eight days that his parents are members of the Sudeten German party.

#### FEAR IN OTHER COUNTRIES

**A**N article from Strassburg in Alsace, published in the weekly *Die Wirtschaft*, explains that Sudeten German territory was not the only place where fear of Hitler frightened capital into migration. The political policies of Germany have caused a strong migration of capital from all the territories bordering on Germany. Denmark and Yugoslavia, where the German population play an important industrial role, are going through similar crises. The migration of capital is by no means limited to Jewish capital but is of a general nature, as is shown by German East Switzerland. Notwithstanding the declaration of the German and Italian governments in all circumstances to respect Swiss neutrality, the fear of war has been great enough to cause the migration of large amounts of capital from German to French Switzerland.

The eastern districts of all the states bordering on West Germany from Holland to France are strongly industrialized. Fear of war has caused these districts to become economic "sore spots," just as Sudetenland became an economic "sore spot" for the Czech government. In Alsace there has been an increasingly strong flight of capital and industry from the Rhine frontier. The head offices of the Upper Alsatian potash mines have been moved from Muhlhaus to Paris. The head offices of the Alsace-Lorraine railways have been moved from Strassburg to Paris. Similar movements have been so strong that the French government has been obliged to take special measures for the reconstruction of the economy of her eastern frontier districts. Like conditions prevail in the frontier districts of Lithuania.

#### POVERTY, PRESSURE, AND CRISIS

**W**ORLD depression certainly caused great economic suffering in Sudetenland with its industries largely dependent upon foreign markets. It would be unfair to imply that the economic distress there was caused alone by the policies of Nazi Germany or by the actions of the Henlein party. The Sudeten Germans had some real economic grievances. They complained that they were not getting their share of government contracts, that Sudetenland was being neglected in the allotment of public works and relief. They were especially bitter because there were not more Germans in such government branches as customs service, railways, postal service, police, telegraph and telephone, and other services owned and operated by the state.

The Czechs themselves admitted readily some truth in these German complaints. Regarding many Germans as disloyal, they did not dare to have them work on some essential government contracts. They did not dare to appoint Germans to key positions where trustworthy men were needed such as in the customs service, railways, postal, police, telegraph, and telephone services.

**B**Y March, 1938, after the Austro-German union had put the Sudeten German territory in the position of a nut in a nutcracker the situation underwent a radical change. Many Sudeten Germans felt that it was only a matter of days or at most weeks before Hitler's troops would march in. After March, 1938, the directors of the economic foreign policy of Germany took steps calculated to increase economic distress in the Sudetenland. Leaders and members of the Henlein party followed suit. Economic distress and economic pressure were important factors in making Nazis in Germany and in Austria. Economic terror proved to be an effective weapon in the making of Nazis in Sudetenland. There is every indication that these same tactics will be employed in other neighboring countries of Germany.



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# Stimulating Interest in Historical Study

G. G. ANDREWS

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SOME of the best teachers maintain, and with good reason I believe, that interest is the most important single factor in the successful pursuit of knowledge and understanding in any field. It is the spark that starts the intellectual process and reveals its satisfactions and potentialities. It lures the student on and urges him to concentrate his attention more completely upon his work and thus definitely to increase his powers of comprehension. Without such interest, this work would probably be dull and largely meaningless to him. Interest is a great incentive to serious and sustained application, and at the same time, by giving direction and zest to effort, it takes the drudgery out of work. Hard and consistent work of itself is excellent and may bring most gratifying results, but without the spark of interest it not seldom proves sterile. Interest may be even more effective than intelligence itself. A student of average ability inspired by interest will make more progress and acquire a better grasp of his subject than one of superior ability without that inspiration. The highest achievements, of course, will come

from a combination of intelligence, interest, and sustained study, but, when separated, such factors are not of equal value in the educational process.

Stimulation of interest is especially important for those beginning their study of a subject or for those with no intention of specializing in it. The former have not yet developed any special liking for the field, and the latter have thus far, at least, found it less attractive than others. It is not unreasonable to assume that major students and graduates have already become interested in their work, although such an assumption may occasionally be unwarranted. This discussion is intended to apply chiefly to those with little or no interest rather than to those who already possess it to a considerable degree.

## FAULTS OF SELECTION AND STYLE

HISTORY, dealing as it does with the various aspects of human relations, would seem to be endowed with unlimited possibilities of interest. What could be more interesting to people than the thoughts and doings of other people of their own and former times? Yet, as too often taught, history has acquired the reputation of being dry and of lacking those elements that attract the mind and grip the imagination. This condition is due in part to what I would call excessive organization and refinement of the subject—classifications, interpretations, abstractions, generalizations, principles, movements, points of view, and so on—all of which are excellent and essential, especially in the more advanced stages

How are you going to teach pupils who are not interested? The answer is that you can't, but this article may serve as a reminder that, well within your reach, are certain fundamental methods for obtaining an attitude of interest. The author, who died on March 29, 1938, was professor of history at the State University of Iowa.

of study, but are likely to be confusing and dull to the beginner or to any person who has no background of factual information.

**A**NOTHER thing which may be still more responsible for non-existent or vanishing interest is the tremendous scope of so many "general courses" in history. American history, English history, European history, world history, and the history of civilization are each extremely difficult to hold within the limits of any one course. The author of a textbook in any one of these subjects finds himself hard put to it to confine his work within any reasonable space and therefore produces a compressed and packed narrative with too much generalization and too many names and events about which it is impossible to tell enough either to make their importance clear or to fasten them in the minds of the students. Altogether too much of the juice of life has been squeezed out, and confusion and deadening of interest inevitably follow. I am not opposed to the fundamental idea of broad general courses, but I am opposed to the way in which many of them are given and to many of the textbooks used. These courses will fail to accomplish the very purpose for which they are intended, unless they are made more selective and less inclusive in content, unless they present fewer important topics and persons but present those with full enough treatment to make their significance and influence clear. In a more careful selection of material and a more adequate discussion of what is included lies the possibility of greatly increased interest and a far better understanding of the subject as a whole.

**T**HE individual differences among students must always be kept in mind in the effort to stimulate interest. What is of paramount interest to some may not be to others. It is necessary, therefore, to make the appeal as wide and diversified as possible. Or, to put it another way, it is highly desirable to suggest different lines of study or ways of

approaching the subject in the hope of arousing the interest of as many as possible. Appetites will be tempted, and more persons induced to help themselves when the menu is varied and enticing. Thus every means available should be utilized to make the subject attractive.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

**T**HE selection of assigned readings in any historical subject is vital to the whole problem of interest. In some respects it is the most fundamental of all the factors involved. Historians are too often guilty of writing intricate and unattractive English. With their devotion to meticulous accuracy they put the results of their investigations into heavily loaded language with much of the life and color effectively, if unintentionally, suppressed. This, of course, is not universally true, and so it devolves upon the teacher to select from among generally reliable works those that are well written and provide a sense of reality concerning the times described. If the choice must be made, better give the student a book that will stir his imagination and arouse his curiosity than one that will leave him cold no matter how profound in scholarship and painstakingly documented it may be. Technical or involved works are not suited to the uninitiated and may result in generating a positive dislike for the subject. As examples of works that might be considered suitable and attractive for beginners or more casual readers the following are mentioned: Ernest Flagg Henderson, *Short History of Germany* (New York: Macmillan, 2 vols in 1, 1923); E. P. Cheyney, *European Background of American History* (New York: Harper, 1904); Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco, *Life of Cavour* (New York: Macmillan, 1898); and Herbert Adams Gibbons, *New Map of Europe* (New York: Century, 1914).

#### BIOGRAPHY

**O**NE of the most intriguing and colorful approaches to the study of history is the biographical. Much has been written

both for and against the so-called "great man" theory of history. Without entering into a discussion of the relative importance of men as compared with the economic and social forces of their times, it would unquestionably be admitted by all competent observers that the influence of certain persons is greater than that of others and that some have had a decisive effect upon the course of events in their own countries and the world. The study of such lives would be justifiable, therefore, on the basis of its historical importance alone, but it is even more justifiable for the uninitiated on the basis of its interest appeal. The abilities and personal characteristics of a man, especially of an important man, the intimate details of his life, what he thought and did, his relations with other persons and groups, his successes and failures are all interesting in and of themselves. Then, if this man has exerted a significant influence on affairs, the interest aroused in the man may be led on into the larger and more complex developments of the period. Interest in persons may thus serve as a natural and easy transition to interest in the more impersonal factors and forces of history.

The possibilities of the biographical approach may be exploited in lectures as well as in the assignment of readings. The lecturer may present issues as the policy of a certain statesman or of his opponents. He may discuss economic or social conditions as definitely influencing the proposed measures or views of some political leader. In short, he may group issues, conditions, and forces around outstanding persons in so far as the evidence will permit. As supplementary reading many excellent biographies, autobiographies, and narratives of personal deeds are available. The following are suggested as especially useful for this purpose: *Travels of Marco Polo* (trans. by W. Marsden. New York: Dutton, 1926); *Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini* (trans. by J. A. Symonds. Garden City: Garden City Pub. Co., 1932); Preserved Smith, *Life and Letters of Martin Luther* (New York: Hough-

ton Mifflin, 1914); John Buchan, *Oliver Cromwell* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1934); Matthew Josephson, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1931); H. A. L. Fisher, *Napoleon* (New York: Holt, 1924); Arthur Herman, *Metternich* (New York: Appleton Century, 1932); G. M. Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Thousand* (New York: Longmans Green, 1909); A. J. B. Whyte, *Political Life and Letters of Cavour, 1848-1861* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1930); Philip Guedalla, *Palmerston* (London: Benn, 1930); Lytton Strachey, *Queen Victoria* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1924); André Maurois, *Disraeli* (New York: Appleton Century, 1928); S. G. Millin, *Cecil Rhodes* (New York: Harper, 1933); Peter Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1930); and the *Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* (2 vols. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1931).

#### PROBLEMS

SOME persons, to whom the biographical approach does not appeal, might become interested in a specific historical problem or topic. To certain types of mind a problem is especially attractive. It requires a more sharply focused and less general form of interest. In many cases it may well be the pursuit of an embryonic interest already aroused in an historical episode or the customs of some country or period. One student may be interested in the defeat of Napoleon at the battle of Waterloo, another in the position and activities of women in the eighteenth century, still another in the athletic games of Greece or Rome. Such interests may profitably be encouraged and directed in order to lead the student into different and wider fields. The satisfactions to be derived from this study are possibly the clarification of some previously started discussion or controversy, the acquisition of valuable information, and, perhaps most important of all, the uncovering of new areas of interest.

There are various other ways in which an



investigation along these lines might be started as, for example, when a student discovers that one author disagrees with another in certain particulars. He is naturally curious to know which one is right and, if encouraged and directed, will exert himself to find out. If the teacher will call his attention to other works on the subject, he will search diligently for further information and will make a serious attempt to weigh the evidence and reach a conclusion. Such an exercise may turn out to be a real initiation into what we call historical method and may prove to be one of the greatest benefits he can gain from his study. At the same time he has a vital interest in his task, while the pleasure and satisfaction he derives from its successful completion may serve as an incentive to undertake others on related or different subjects.

Another means of arousing curiosity and starting an inquiry is to challenge the reliability of certain statements found in the textbook or a reference work. For the inquiry to be successful it matters little whether the statement in question turns out to be true, false, or only partially true. Acquainting the student with the method of investigation and arousing his interest are the important considerations.

A special type of such investigation is the source problem. Added to the advantages already mentioned, it has others all of its own. In the first place it gives the student some idea of how knowledge of the past is preserved, and where material can be found. He discovers the fundamental difference between sources and secondary works. He becomes acquainted with various kinds of sources and learns something of their respective characteristics and value. As the study continues, he gets at least an introductory training in dealing with evidence of all kinds—corroborative, conflicting, and qualifying. This early development of the critical faculties of the student is a matter of supreme importance, for its benefits are permanent. It places a measuring rod in his hand. A basis and a technique for distin-

guishing the genuine from the spurious are built up. He learns to recognize and appreciate good work.

#### ORIGINAL ACCOUNTS

FROM the point of view of arousing interest, extracts and selections from the sources have unique possibilities. They carry the reader back into the attitudes and thought of the earlier time. They give vitality, intimacy, and reality not only to persons but also to events and conditions. The hard lot—though, as is now understood, not as hard a lot as that of the peasants of the other continental European countries—of the French peasants and especially of the women before the Revolution is well known, but the English traveler, Arthur Young, drives the point home with the following entry in his journal: "Walking up a long hill, to ease my mare, I was joined by a poor woman, who complained of the times, and that it was a sad country; demanding her reasons, she said her husband had but a morsel of land, one cow, and a poor little horse, yet they had a *franchar* of wheat, and three chickens, to pay as a quit-rent to one Seigneur; and four *franchar* of oats, one chicken and franc to pay to another, besides very heavy *tailles* and other taxes. She had seven children, and the cow's milk helped to make the soup. . . . This woman, at no great distance might have been taken for sixty or seventy, her figure was so bent and her face so furrowed and hardened by labour, but she said she was only twenty-eight. An Englishman who had not travelled, cannot imagine the figure made by infinitely the greater part of the country-women in France; it speaks, at first sight, hard and severe labour: I am inclined to think, that they work harder than the men, and this, united with the more miserable labour of bringing a new race of slaves into the world, destroys absolutely all symmetry of person and every feminine appearance." Any amount of generalization would fail to convey the impression of this concrete case, which also makes a good basis for further discussion.



## FICTION

NOTWITHSTANDING the conflict of opinion regarding the value of historical fiction in the study of history, I venture to assert that it can be and, in many cases, is a most effective means of creating interest in the subject. Some misunderstandings, however, must first be cleared away. So far as I know, no serious teacher advocates the substitution of historical novels for sound historical works in acquiring knowledge and understanding of history. Nor do they depend upon them completely even in what is perhaps their strongest feature—the creation of “contemporary atmosphere” or the “illusion of reality.” Selections from the sources may sometimes be found that are even more effective, and in any case they serve as a supplement or check upon the impressions left by a novel.

The real value of historical fiction for the valid reconstruction of the past depends upon the extent to which this especially created atmosphere or illusion of reality is true to fact. A broad acquaintance with the literature of the time is necessary to make it so, and too many novelists lack their equipment; but some have it, and therefore they have been eminently successful in the task they set out to perform. These works should not be considered as history, but their value to the student of history is nevertheless indubitable.

On the other hand, the value of historical fiction for creating interest does not demand as indispensable an unswerving adherence to known truth. Some would contend that it might even be aroused by a presentation that was definitely false. The student might then question the novelist's view and gain the satisfaction of proving it misleading or wrong. Yet this approach, in my opinion, is not to be commended. Better direct attention to those novels that most nearly portray the real spirit and life of the time. The lure of historical fiction is perhaps no better stated than by that master of the field, Sir Walter Scott, in the Prefatory Letter to *Peveril of the Peak*. “The love of knowledge

wants but a beginning—the least spark will give fire when the train is properly prepared; and having been interested in fictitious adventures, ascribed to an historical period and characters, the reader begins next to be anxious to learn what the facts really were, and how far the novelist has justly represented them. But even where the mind of the more careless reader remains satisfied with the light perusal he has afforded to a tale of fiction, he will still lay down the book with a degree of knowledge, not perhaps of the most accurate kind, but such as he might not otherwise have acquired.”

A writer of fiction may of course be inclined to evaluate such material more highly than a historian would, but its usefulness in all fairness can not be denied. In talking with historians, it is surprising how many of them trace the beginnings of their interest in history to the reading of historical novels in their youth. And some of the books they read would hardly be considered as belonging to the best class of that literature today. For myself, I began with Cooper's *Leather Stocking Tales*, and it is a reasonable assumption that Parkman would have been read long before he was, if my teachers had only known that his works existed.

Some may claim that the reading of fiction tends to make the mind flabby and unfits it for serious historical study, but from my own observation and experience I am inclined to doubt it. Nor is there any real danger that all students would confine their reading to fiction, even if given the opportunity. Historical novels do not appeal equally to all persons. The option of a historical novel has been included in the required list of supplementary reading for my freshman class in modern European history, but only about half of the class availed themselves of this option. The remainder voluntarily chose either historical works or biographies. In the selection of historical novels the following guides will be found especially helpful: Jonathan Nield, *A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales* (New

York: Macmillan, 1929), Hannah Logasa, *Historical Fiction and Other Reading References for History in Junior and Senior High School* (a National Council for the Social Studies Publication No. 1, 1927).

#### HIGH STANDARDS

**P**ARADOXICAL as it may seem, I believe another way to stimulate interest is to make certain types of students get down to serious work and stick to it until they accomplish the best results of which they are capable. This plan, of course, must be carried out judiciously. Some students resent being put under pressure or driven. In extreme cases where the pressure is general open rebellion may result, while in others it may be simply the refusal of individuals to put forth an honest effort to do the assigned work. On the other hand, there are students who have no constitutional objection to working under pressure. In fact, some are so constituted that it is only under pressure that they will work at all. Pressure should be applied where it is needed and where its effect will be beneficial rather than the contrary. Not seldom an indolent or careless student of real ability may thus be forced to do satisfactory work. And there are few students who will not develop interest in any subject in which they can see that they are making definite progress.

#### VARIETY—AND PERSEVERANCE

**T**HERE are undoubtedly many other ways of making the subject attractive that will suggest themselves to thoughtful minds. The use of illustrative materials of all kinds,

visual aids such as slides and moving pictures, the dramatization of historic episodes, all have important possibilities in arousing and holding interest, but most of all there is needed that discerning and versatile teacher who can wisely and accurately appraise the attitude and abilities of each student. He is then in a position to determine what particular approach or method to use in order to get the best results in each case. It is becoming increasingly clear that education, if it is to be most effective, must be more and more an individual matter.

**O**NE would like to believe that a gifted teacher by the use of various techniques and inducements might succeed in interesting every member of his class, and such a happy outcome may be conceivable under exceptional circumstances, but in the average work-a-day classroom it is not to be expected. Some students lack capacity, while others lack energy, and unfortunately there are a few who are short of both. In general, however, the teacher who studies to make his subject interesting and who seeks in various ways to arouse the curiosity and stimulate the zeal of his students will find his efforts richly rewarded. If there are a few who still fail to respond, he should neither relax his efforts nor become discouraged. Even the Apostle Paul realized that not all could be saved. "I am made all things to all men," he wrote to the Corinthians, "that I might by all means save some" (I Cor. 9: 22). The teacher of history would perhaps do well to emulate his example and be satisfied with his results.

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# Current Events in Elementary School

MEYER TERKEL

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**F**ASHION has used the word "forgotten" for so many things that perhaps it may seem trite to say that the teaching of current events in the elementary schools is the "forgotten" phase of the social sciences. There are several reasons why this condition exists, but its importance demands that this situation be remedied. It may be a means of vitalizing the entire elementary-school curriculum. In the last few years, and in fact during most periods of history, many vital questions have been extremely controversial. In order to avoid trouble with the community, with the educational authorities, and with parents, many teachers have simply avoided current events. Many elementary-school teachers have not been able to follow current trends on account of the emphasis upon methodology, sometimes to the detriment of subject matter. Moreover it has grown increasingly difficult to follow world events, and it is only within recent years that training schools are offering courses in present day problems, so that older teachers do not have even the benefit of that training.

As the world situation becomes more and more confused and its problems press more constantly for attention, the necessity for teaching current events in school seems more obvious. Here a teacher in Public School 50, Bronx, New York City, urges the case for inclusion even in the elementary school curriculum.

**M**ANY of the better courses of study in every section of the country now specify that current events be taught, beginning with the fifth year when formal history and geography are usually begun. The New York City geography course of study calls for "geographical aspects of current events." The history course of the same city says that, "since one of the major aims in the study of history is to explain present conditions, the study of current events inevitably becomes an integral part of the subject." The social studies course for the fifth and sixth years of elementary school in Berkeley, California, maintains that the child should develop the habit of relating current events to topics connected with historical and geographical study. "History happens so fast at present, to fail to include current events would be to belie the name of the subject itself," says the Ann Arbor, Michigan, course. The Fort Worth, Texas, course of study says, "Preference should be accorded that assimilative material which promised the best opportunity for significant consideration of the world's crucial problems." Muncie, Indiana, "The Middletown" of the United States, has a significant paragraph in its Course of Study: "Teachers should strive to connect the work with current life and events and in so far as the particular grade level being taught needs or can appreciate them. This requires that teachers know the salient features of what is going on in the world, that they be able to select appropriately for their grade levels, and that they see clearly the relations which they wish the children to see. Children

might be trained to help find related current materials to bring to their classroom for discussion, especially as the higher grades are reached."

**E**XPERIENCE has shown that children love to have current events periods, especially the rapid learners. Many children are poor readers, it is maintained, because the reading matter given them is dull. It is known however that, when these so-called poor readers are allowed to read sport news, their comprehension and rate shows marked increase. Current-events clubs will often stimulate the desire to read, to develop wider interest in the world, and to present that interest to others in the formal and informal talks. Sixth-year children have given a good account of themselves in such clubs. They are not too young, for it is never too early to learn to think and to think on one's feet. Also it is an opportunity to learn to respect the ideas of others.

An important news item may serve as an excellent motivation for a topic and may point up a whole new aspect of the subject. The pupils hear news discussed at home, on the radio, in election campaigns, and they see the newsreels. The teacher has a good opportunity to choose what is suitable to the intellectual level of the child and is related to the lesson.

**A**T least three of the important intangible objectives of the educational process may be cultivated by teaching current events. The elementary school surely is not too early to begin. Because of its very nature, current events may be used to develop critical thinking, and to lead children to appreciate government by democratic methods—to make the purposes and promises of American democracy real. The other intangible to be considered is the child's satisfactory adaptation to his environment. It has been said that the social aspect is perhaps the most important element in a child's environment. Anything that helps the pupil adapt himself

adequately to his environment should be encouraged, and the study of current events lends itself to that end. For instance, a discussion on housing and the efforts of the federal government in that direction will lead pupils to look at their homes in a different light. The everyday necessity is examined minutely. Rent, taxes, slums, fresh air, sunlight, and disease are placed in a proper setting. Some of these terms taught in a formal manner in the high school become simple to these elementary school pupils.

By utilizing material from the child's own community, the teacher can develop ideas which will help the pupil become a civic-conscious citizen. From the understanding of the problems of his own community the child will gradually see the significance of interdependence—that the state and nation are affected directly and indirectly by them. A boy in a city will then appreciate that a drought in the agricultural region affects his family and himself. Unemployment in the city will mean to the farm boy that his father's crops will not bring in a good price.

**T**HE teacher faces two important problems in teaching current events. The first is how to teach controversial topics. The second is how to avoid propaganda. To define the terms "controversial topic" and "propaganda" satisfactorily is of course impossible here, or probably anywhere else. However they remain acute problems for every teacher, and it is well to remember the four factors in a solution that were enumerated by Professor Ernest Horn in this connection: complete knowledge of the topic, tact, common sense, and pedagogical skill. Such discussions should be "tempered by decent respect for ideas and sensibilities of the local community." The individual solution of the problem and the situation must be a teacher's own solution, but the difficulties involved do not warrant omitting the whole subject from classroom consideration, because such a course, obviously, involves even greater difficulties.



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# Scholastic Panic

ROBERT RIENOW

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**O**BVIOUSLY, since the objectives of the school system in a democracy differ from those of dictatorships, the fact that certain techniques have succeeded in a dictatorship should not commend them to the schools of a democracy. On the contrary, our task is to correlate the educational system with democracy, and we ought to go about that task not as though we were hastily throwing up breastworks against an attack, but as though we were building a solid structure for defined purposes of our own. To be maneuvered into adopting foreign devices rather than strengthening our own is a sign of real scholastic panic.

The double meaning of the term democracy confuses the issue further. The term is employed to describe a "way of life," in contradistinction to the "way of life" that Mussolini calls fascism, that is, a philosophy based on a belief in the equality of men with all that the phrase implies in the Declaration of Independence. Yet, at this moment in history the critical importance of democracy as a philosophy is subordinated to the idea of democracy as a practical political mechanism, and it is the political mechanism that

needs bolstering. Using the term "democracy" in this meaning, its antithesis is not fascism or communism but a mechanism of government familiarly termed "dictatorship." Inasmuch as the American "way of life" is completely dependent on the continuance of the democratic plan of government, it becomes clear that the primary obligation of education here is to vitalize that democratic process.

**T**HE methods of dictators call for a citizenry that is obedient to orders, that trusts the commander, and that will deem it a virtue to bow docilely no matter whether the price be personal sacrifice or downright injustice. The authority of an elite class is the basis of social control in these nations subscribing to the principle of "leadership." Their educational objective must therefore be the training of followers to accept unquestioningly conclusions in the making of which they have had no part. Thus the formation by the schools of an ingrained and habitual confidence in the infallibility of the elite will simplify the day by day manufacture of opinion for the dictator. The primary aim of the school system in the authoritarian regime is therefore expressed in a concern with the intangibles—faith, confidence, courage, obedience. It is a blend of patriotism and partisan fervor.

"These children," says Mussolini, "must be educated in our religious faith; but we have the duty of integrating this education. We need to give these youngsters the sense of virility, of power, of conquest; and above all we need to inspire them with our faith,

What has our American educational system done to provide political safety for us? What should it do? What can it do? Dr Rienow is an instructor in political science at the New York State College for Teachers at Albany.

and to inflame them with our hopes." <sup>1</sup> In all he says and does Mussolini recognizes that it is the schools that can give to such upstart institutions as single party government a position of venerableness ordinarily attained only by years—generations—of service to society. One might describe this function of education as the indoctrination of "long-term public opinion."

In the schools of a dictatorship choices of actions or of forms can not be offered. Truth is dispensed dogmatically, and allegiance is promoted emotionally. The substitutes for mental activity are physical activity and emotional satisfaction. In affording these outlets to the child the dictator-teacher monopolizes all the life of the child. Not only does the political aim of the school permeate all of the classroom hours, but the hours after school are taken with youth organizations purposefully directed and integrated. Even the personnel that supervises the class work and the after-school work is not clearly distinguishable.

Startled, democrats have, in this consciously promoted program of the authoritarian states, seen results wholly justifying building a political system on the foundation of the elementary and higher schools. That seems new, but as a matter of actual fact all our own government's lavish expenditures upon schools is based on the same idea. Nevertheless our school activity and curriculum have proceeded on two contradicting assumptions: first, that education is primarily individual rather than social, and second, that democracy provides its own spiritual motivation. Dictators have shown us the error of our ways. They have re-established the fundamental relation between the educational and political systems.

**D**O we, however, yet see clearly exactly where we are wrong? Do we see that the peculiar kind of political system that we seek to perpetuate demands its own educational techniques? Apparently not. Instead,

dictators have thrown us into terror. We fear, and in our fear we lose our reason. We toy with the idea of importing the very restrictive measures with which they fortify their authoritarian school systems. We borrow when we ought to invent.

Do we see that fundamental to our entire approach must be a conviction that there is hope for democracy and a sympathy with democracy as a way of life and as a process of government? Democracy believes that each man has the capacity to discern the social and political needs of society, and that he can become more adept in this function with proper educational environment. Our purpose in education must be one of indoctrination with our principles of life and government, just as the chief concern of a dictator is to mould a citizenry that is receptive to his tenets. It is our methods, however, that must be different, must be our own.

**T**HERE are three principles that need emphasis in our democratic school system. The first function of the school is to establish the habit of controversy, where the will of the majority is acquiesced in though opposed, and where the minority is not trampled underfoot. The only democratic dogma is that there is no dogma. There must be no problem too difficult or too sacred to be the subject of free investigation. There must be an open weighing of facts in a spirit of tolerance. There must be equal freedom in the formation of opinion. The maintenance of these conditions of investigation is the real distinction between democracy and other forms of government. Since this is the pattern of the political process in the life of a democracy, it must be adopted without reservation in the classroom where the young citizen is trained for participation in the process.

A child who habitually weighs all public questions will be a man who insists on *his own* analysis of social and political problems. One may go so far as to say that the youth who has come to accept tentatively the doctrines of fascism or communism by

<sup>1</sup> *Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 3, 1937.

his own rational processes has, by his very procedure of thought, made himself unfit to live under the rule of a dictator that would come with such totalitarian schemes. The social ideal of fascism or communism, which he has accepted under a free system of investigation, can be carried into effect only with a dictatorship under which, because of his habits of thought, he would chafe and revolt.

Essentially there are two methods that we teachers of democracy can use effectively. We can take care that our pupils understand fully the kind of social control that is implied in the totalitarian schemes, and we can also oppose to the social ideals of the dictators those of democracy. To follow the procedure for which we have already showed a startling preference—that of strangling freedom of controversy—is to work on the false premise that the threat of dictatorship is from outside ourselves, whereas the real danger of dictatorship arises from the maladjustment in our own society.

THE second essential of democratic teaching is to show the young citizen who has formed his opinion what he can do to translate it into group opinion, and finally into public policy. Mere freedom of controversy and formation of opinion is sterile, if there is no understanding and appreciation of the democratic machinery through which an idea percolates to the top, withstands and gives way to conflicting ideas, and emerges as a rule of society. An adequate analysis of public opinion must include the scrutiny of the agencies and devices of propaganda. The potential opportunity for effective citizenship through participation in political parties must be emphasized at the same time that the strength and weaknesses of political machines are discussed. The power of the

citizen in the primary election should be explained along with his function in the regular election. An understanding of the influence of civic groups over their representatives in state and national assemblies gives the young citizen a sense of personal sovereignty and responsibility that finds its counterpoise in a study of pressure groups.

If the young citizen recognizes and values the essential parts of the mechanism by which he must one day express himself, he will later be more able to exert his influence towards freeing it from those interests that choke it. No matter how attractive our democratic philosophy and ideals, if our machinery for social control fails, the whole system goes with it. Indeed, a population fed on democratic ideals becomes disillusioned sooner if the mechanism seems incapable of attaining the ends.

FINALLY, the utmost knowledge of the mechanism plus an ingrained habit of controversy will not be enough. Schools must undertake positively and fervently to teach the intangibles, to build characters with those qualities of spirit which alone make democracy workable. It is not enough, for instance, to expose the corruption on which political machines feed, if we only whet the appetite of our young citizens for a share of the spoils. Like the dictators, we must undertake to create a hope and faith in the regime, a spirit of sacrifice for the common good, and a feeling of unity in social undertakings. Regard it as indoctrination. Is it therefore distasteful? If we do not inspire a spirit of sacrifice to the common good, will not society be indoctrinated by the cult of selfish material interest? There is only one answer to the question. It will. There is no neutral moral ground in a dynamic society.

# The Textbook in Social Studies

MICHAEL LEVINE

WE should recognize the fact that in American educational practice textbooks virtually represent the curriculum. It is of course obvious that there are other factors, such as the knowledge and background of the teacher, the course of study, and supplementary reading materials, and they must be taken into account. Nevertheless in spite of any desires and efforts to the contrary, the dominant role of the textbook can hardly be gainsaid. According to Bessie L. Pierce it is both "needless and commonplace"<sup>1</sup> to call attention to it.

There has been much evidence that the textbook occupies a different place in the United States from what it does in other countries. Ellwood P. Cubberley's opening sentence of his article on textbooks of Paul Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education* said in 1915 that "perhaps in no country of the world do textbooks play so important a part in instruction as . . . in the United States." This is regarded as "one of the marked de-

fects of American instruction."<sup>2</sup> Charles H. Judd in *Education and Social Progress* thought the situation little different twenty years later. "The schools of this country use textbooks far more than do the schools of any country on the other side of the Atlantic."<sup>3</sup> In spite of Vivian T. Thayer's pronouncement of the *Passing of the Recitation*,<sup>4</sup> according to both these authorities it is the textbook that has been largely responsible for the fixation and persistence of the formal recitation. W. S. Learned<sup>5</sup> emphasizes the greater relative importance of the teacher in Europe.

Henry Johnson in his *Teaching of History in Elementary and Secondary Schools* calls attention to the difference between European and American history teaching and says that the "learning and reciting of textbook lessons is often called in Europe the American method of teaching history."<sup>6</sup> Daniel C. Knowlton has also emphasized this factor. "By the time the pupil has reached the junior high school he has become a textbook addict. This is inevitable in the American order of things. Textbooks are introduced at the earliest possible moment and the pupil is made to realize their general utility, if not their infallibility."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B. L. Pierce, *Civic Attitudes in American School Text Books*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1930, p. xi.

Textbooks, and more especially textbook teaching, are always under attack. But they change, adapt themselves to new needs and demands, and continue to be a powerful factor in American education. Dr Levine is a teacher in the New Utrecht High School, Brooklyn, New York.

<sup>2</sup> New York: Macmillan, 5 vols., 1911-19.

<sup>3</sup> New York: Harcourt Brace, 1934, p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> New York: Heath, 1928.

<sup>5</sup> "Quality of the Educational Process in the United States and in Europe," Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, *Bulletin No. 20*, 1927, pp. 13-14.

<sup>6</sup> New York: Macmillan, 1916, p. 287; see Tyler Kepner's "The Influence of Textbooks upon Method," in *Fifth Yearbook*, National Council for the Social Studies. Philadelphia: McKinley, 1935.

<sup>7</sup> *History and the Other Social Studies in the High School*. New York: Scribner, 1926, p. 33.



EVIDENCE from many official school surveys conducted over a period of years in various parts of the country affords a clear portrayal of the part played by textbooks in the American educative process. Almost inevitably such surveys report the preponderant influence of textbooks on content and methods of teaching. The Missouri survey of 1929 found that "in Missouri schools, as in most American schools, textbooks are an important part of the machinery of instruction. To a considerable extent they determine both the content and the method of instruction. . . . In practice the textbook is the course of study in most Missouri schools."<sup>8</sup> The Florida survey of the same year condemned the generally evident "blind dependence of the teachers upon textbooks."<sup>9</sup> The Delaware survey indicated that "prescribed textbooks, literally followed, constitute the course of study."<sup>10</sup> Survey reports of the school systems of Tampa, Gary, Lynn, Leavenworth, and the state of Mississippi<sup>11</sup> contain data of a similar nature. Even newer courses of study, such as that of Virginia, although they represent reactions against textbook teaching, rely very heavily on texts.

The status of the textbook is still a matter of concern to American educators. This is shown by the issuance of a *Yearbook* in 1931 by the National Society for the Study of Education entirely devoted to "The Textbook in American Education." In an extended in-

vestigation, therein reported by William C. Bagley, representing thirty states in all sections of the country it is maintained that "the work of the typical American classroom, whether on the elementary or secondary level, has been and still is characterized by a lifeless and perfunctory study and recitation of assigned textbook materials." It is significantly concluded that "a formal type of textbook work is more prevalent in the high schools than in the elementary schools."<sup>12</sup>

THERE is no question of the fact that the textbook governs the content of the social studies, particularly history. "In the majority of American schools," says Henry Johnson, in the same book, *Teaching of History*, "it determines the facts to be taught and the manner of teaching them."<sup>13</sup> According to Professor Knowlton "the character of the textbook will determine largely the nature of the course."<sup>14</sup> The *Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools* characterizes textbook writers in the social studies as the "chief agents in the actual determination of instructional content—and to a certain extent, objectives."<sup>15</sup> W. J. Osburn goes so far as to maintain that "at least seventy-four per cent (74%) of our work in history consists in teaching the pupils to read and remember what the textbook records."<sup>16</sup>

There is little evidence available to justify any great faith in the effect of supplementary and collateral materials on content. According to the *Third Yearbook* of the Department of Superintendence, "practice in our public school is preponderantly to use scarcely any reading materials besides the

<sup>8</sup> G. D. Strayer and N. L. Engelhardt, *A Preliminary Report of the Survey of the Public Schools and Higher Institutions in the State of Missouri*. Jefferson City: Missouri State Survey Commission, 1929, p. 110.

<sup>9</sup> *Official Report of the Educational Survey Commission*. Tallahassee: State of Florida, 1929, p. 44.

<sup>10</sup> *Public Education in Delaware*. New York: General Education Board, 1919, p. 48.

<sup>11</sup> G. D. Strayer, *Report of the Survey of the Schools of Tampa, Florida*. New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1926, p. 141; A. Flexner and F. P. Bachman, *The Gary Schools*. New York: General Education Board, 1918, p. 48; G. D. Strayer, *Report of the Survey of the Schools of Lynn, Massachusetts*. New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1927, p. 243; *Report of the Public Schools of Leavenworth, Kansas*. Topeka: State Printing Plant, 1915, p. 101; M. V. O'Shea, *Public Education in Mississippi*. Jackson: Published by the State, 1926, p. 118.

<sup>12</sup> *Thirtieth Yearbook*, National Society for the Study of Education. Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Pub., 1931, Part II, esp. pp. 10-11, 18.

<sup>13</sup> *ante*, p. 269; for "Progress in Social-Studies Textbooks" see Howard B. Wilder in *Social Education*, May, 1937.

<sup>14</sup> *ante*, p. 33.

<sup>15</sup> Drafted by Charles A. Beard. New York: Scribner, 1932, p. 88.

<sup>16</sup> W. J. Osburn, *Are We Making Good at Teaching History?* Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Pub. 1926, p. 50.

text. . . . We ask pupils to spend several hundred hours reading material that any normal reader could read in twenty hours at most."<sup>17</sup> With the falling off in educational appropriations due to economic crisis, the situation with regard to the utilization of supplementary reading materials has surely not improved.

Earle Rugg in a valuable monograph on *Curriculum Studies in the Social Sciences and Citizenship* emphasizes a factor which is illuminating. "The study of textbooks in the social studies is assumed to be the medium by which citizenship training is to be promoted in secondary schools. . . . Once we know what texts are commonly used, it is possible by analysis of these texts to describe the content of these courses," since the representative textbooks are "virtually the curriculum in this field."<sup>18</sup>

#### TEXTBOOKS AND COURSES OF STUDY

A RECENT survey of social studies instruction conducted by William G. Kimmel for the National Survey of Secondary Education has shown convincing proof that official courses of study actually derive their content from textbooks. Evidence from high school courses of study in American history from twenty-eight cities even discloses that "the titles of units and major topics in many courses are taken directly from chapter headings in textbooks" which of course would account for the "marked similarities" that are found in "most courses." Mr Kimmel accordingly concludes that "the most influential factor in the determination of the content in courses of study, based on internal evidence and the testimony of teachers, seems to be the representative textbooks." An arresting factor brought out in that survey, which is not

widely known or fully appreciated, tends to undermine current faith in the ameliorative influences of the newer types of social studies content organization. "The basic content for all courses regardless of whether they are labelled fusion courses, unified courses, or subject courses, is essentially the same and is derived to a greater or less extent from representative textbooks."<sup>19</sup>

A study by Velda C. Bamesberger of the relative merits of two types of social studies organization, namely, the traditional textbook type and the activities type, serves to corroborate Mr Kimmel. She shows that even with the new type of activities course of study the textbook is still the "basal reservoir for data learned."<sup>20</sup> Mr Kimmel indicates a way out of this vicious circle in concluding that new types of courses "come into effective use. . . . only when corresponding textbooks are available."<sup>21</sup>

DESPITE the existence of a school of thought which would scrap the textbook entirely in the social studies,<sup>22</sup> it is hardly rash to predict its survival for some time to come. In its *Conclusions and Recommendations* the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association declares that the textbook "will doubtless play an important role in social studies instruction for many years."<sup>23</sup> Such being the case, regardless of the type of course of study organization, improved textbooks will still be continuously welcomed by school administrators and teachers.

<sup>19</sup> W. G. Kimmel, "Instruction in the Social Studies," National Survey of Secondary Education, *Bulletin No. 17*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932, pp. 48, 75, 99.

<sup>20</sup> Velda C. Bamesberger, *An Appraisal of a Social Science Course*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1928, p. 188, as rev. in *Historical Outlook*, April, 1929.

<sup>21</sup> *ante*, p. 100.

<sup>22</sup> Miriam A. Compton, *An Evaluation of History Texts*. Philadelphia: McKinley, 1932.

<sup>23</sup> New York: Scribner, 1934, p. 79.

<sup>17</sup> Washington: National Education Association, 1925, p. 261.

<sup>18</sup> Greeley, Colorado: Colorado State Teachers College, 1928, p. 1.

# On the Homestead Act and on Teaching

RALPH B. GUINNESS

A NUMBER of recent articles<sup>1</sup> indicate the need for revision of textbook content with regard to the Homestead Act of 1862, and they add force to the growing dissatisfaction with the conventional methods of teaching the contents of a single textbook. Since new research often reveals popular misconceptions, which however continue to be repeated in textbooks, it seems of doubtful pedagogic value to require students to learn and to reason on the basis of "facts" already or later shown to be false.

The lag between scholarly research and textbook writing can probably never be corrected wholly; but, even if it could, we need to make use of the scientific method of fact finding both as a means and a goal of instruction.

<sup>1</sup>Fred A. Shannon, "The Homestead Act and the Labor Surplus" and Paul Wallace Gates, "The Homestead Law in an Incongruous Land System," both in the *American Historical Review*, July, 1936; Carter Goodrich and Sol Davidson, "The Wage-Earner in the Westward Movement" and "The Frontier as Safety Valve: a Rejoinder" in the *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1935, March, 1936, and June, 1938.

A teacher on the social studies in the Richmond Hill High School, Queens, New York, indicates important aspects of textbooks and textbook teaching, taking as the illustration of his point the lack of textbook information on such research as that tending to discount the older theories of the relations between free or easily available western lands and the strains of our economic life.

tion. We must cease trying to teach students to learn finished conclusions out of a single text, and we must begin to teach them to reason from data—original source material, if possible—collected from a variety of places.

As typical examples I wish to consider here two of these recent scholarly reexaminations of the Homestead Act, which may be taken as part of the general situation.

One, by Fred A. Shannon, indicates that the Homestead Act of 1862 had no effect on alleviating labor conditions in the East before 1890, and it contradicts the popular belief, to be found in too many textbooks, that by the Homestead Act of 1862 all the land was granted free, was acquired by common men, drained the East of its labor surplus and thus quieted social discontent and exhausted the free land by 1890.

In order to show the falsity of the usual picture of the Homestead Act's effect on the situation he presents various factors. (1) By 1890 the railroads had obtained four times as much land as the homesteaders. (2) More land was obtained by railroads, loan companies, and speculators than by homesteaders, which makes it less probable that there was much emigration from eastern states of poor or unemployed laboring men. (3) Low farm wages, periodic agricultural depression, and the increase of farm tenancy in the homestead states operated against the western migration of eastern labor. During the period after the Civil War economic changes were driving people from the farm to the city, while nationally the labor population was increasing faster than the farm popula-



tion in spite of the opening of the West. Moreover, it was practically impossible for labor to acquire homesteads free, or small tracts by installment purchases, on account of the cost of transportation and the need of capital to undertake farming operations. Psychological habituation and submissiveness to the status of an industrial worker were other deterrents to the emigration of city workers to farms. (4) That few of all those who did emigrate westward received free lands is shown by the fact that hardly more than a third of the homesteaders remained long enough in any territory to perfect their entries. Economic conditions operating against the success of a farming population undoubtedly operated even more adversely against the success of an industrial class ignorant of farm life. (5) The population of the homestead states was drawn chiefly from neighboring and adjacent states; for example, Minnesota, Kansas, and Nebraska before 1890 received one-half of all the final homestead entries, and most of their settlers came from nearby Missouri and Illinois. (6) The belief in the exhaustion of all free lands by 1890 is easily shown to be false, because four times as much land has been deeded by the federal government since 1890 as before that date, and because more has been taken up since 1890 than in the earlier forty-eight years. Moreover it is scarcely accurate to overlook eastern labor's very real discontent before 1890, as is indicated by the unemployment, strikes, and the body of literature of protest in the years after the Civil War.

Professor Shannon thinks that free lands did not attract immigrants to the United States but that high wages did. It may be more completely accurate, however, to conclude, as Adam Smith did, that the abundance of relatively free land historically made wages high in this country; that free land historically made wages high regionally, or nationally; and that these high wages attracted immigrants, both from the countries of Europe and from the eastern part of the United States.

ANOTHER article, by Paul Wallace Gates, shows that after 1862 land speculation and monopoly, adverse to the interests of the common man as it always is, prevailed in the distribution of the public domain, as it had earlier from 1607 to 1862. He also shows, contrary to the popular belief in a universal free distribution of public lands by the federal government, that grants to favorites, military warrants, cash sale, and sale at auction prevailed in the period after the Civil War and affected a greater distribution of the public lands than did the free grants under the Homestead Law. As Alvord, J. T. Adams, T. P. Abernethy, and others have shown, such a policy had been a traditional Royal and American practice from 1607 to 1861.

Almost as an intended corollary to Professor Shannon's thesis that few eastern laborers obtained free homesteads, Professor Gates shows that few of the settlers in homestead territory obtained free land from the federal government. Those who did settle west of the Mississippi had to buy their lands from speculators, the railroad companies, and monopolizers of public lands. He also shows that, although some 100,000,000 acres of federal lands were available for sale in large or small blocks, very few were obtained by small purchasers. Between 1862 and 1890 most of the public lands were distributed otherwise: the railroad companies received over 125,000,000 acres; the states, under the Agricultural Land Act, received over 140,000,000 acres; and the railroad companies and speculators by treaty bought more than 100,000,000 acres from the Indians.

SOME important conclusions are implied in all this. Since the most of the western public domain was thus monopolized, few of the eastern labor interest, or other common men, could have benefited directly by the Homestead Act before 1890. On the other hand, it may be possible that an indirect benefit accrued to the nation in this way by the opening of the West, for, with



increased agricultural, mining, and railroad production in the West, there was at the same time an increased specialization in manufacturing in the East. The increase of population by the coming of the immigrants created national benefits with increased consumer needs and demands. As easterners sold small farms and moved west to larger ones, it would appear that someone in the East received a reciprocal benefit. Perhaps without the opening of the West there would have been more social discontent in the East than actually did occur in the period between 1873 and 1894. The federal government probably anticipated a labor shortage arising from westward migration and increasing industrialization, as is indicated by the passage of the immigration labor import law of 1864. On its repeal in 1868 eastern capitalists in mining, manufacturing, railroading, and shipping collaborated to import immigrant labor. While this immigration may have offset any gains to labor supposedly accruing to it through westward migration, still the increased consumptive demand undoubtedly created some employment and some wage-raising for eastern labor in general.

Nevertheless it might be considered as obvious that any interpretation of what we already know about the effect of the Homestead Act on Eastern labor is not very valuable, until some satisfactory research has been made upon the questions of whether business interests and the government were much concerned about the possibility of immigration or anything else that was increasing discontent, and whether, while it may be said that immigrants were brought in by men seeking immediate profits without regard to national policies, there is a possibility of some interrelation of government and business policies.

#### APPLICATIONS TO TEACHING PRACTICE

THESE articles and these applications only typify the need for the revision of content, materials, and methods in the teaching of many aspects of history. The

whole question of the lack of validity of textbook content has been discussed at various times, and various ways have been suggested for meeting the problem.

In the *Sixth Yearbook* of the National Council for the Social Studies (1936, p. 46) Howard E. Wilson suggested that we teach students to locate and use information, to use source materials with conflicting contradictory accounts and testimony in order to give practice in weighing evidence and in dealing with the true complexity of situations, to learn the necessity of comparison as a basic skill in thinking, and to make careful generalizations and critical evaluations of the generalizations of others. Before and since that time books and authors have urged this kind of teaching, but the adjustment has not been made.

Irene T. Blythe's "The Textbooks and the New Discoveries, Emphases, and Viewpoints in American History" in the *Historical Outlook* of December, 1932, provided a useful list, with citations, of viewpoints and discoveries well worked out by adequate research which are, however, neglected in current textbooks. The list is impressive for its length and importance, and, as far as it goes, offers the necessary correction to a teacher's own information, but the length and importance of the list only seems to show another aspect of textbook inadequacy.

SINCE it is very easy to make mistakes in declaring what really happened in the past, it should be obvious that this article is making no plea that more nearly perfect texts, or perfect texts, be supplied students, but its plea is that students, in trying to understand the present and the past, should be taught the methods of honest, accurate, and thorough inquiry, of critical evaluation of data and of the conclusions according to their own best knowledge and ability and in full recognition of the fact that they are themselves bound by their own bias and kind of intellectual understanding. Without this they are not educated.

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# A New Graduate Program in History

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

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THERE was once a time—perhaps—when those preparing to teach history could achieve their purpose through the intensive study of history. But history has deepened, becoming subdivided into many aspects, any of which provide possibilities of life-long specialization. It has also broadened—broadened until it no longer has boundaries—only marginal areas which merge variously into the social sciences or the humanities or even into the natural sciences. How, then, shall one specialize in history, or prepare to teach it, either in high school or college?

One practical answer to this highly important question, which is troubling many faculties, including those of teacher training institutions, is offered by the history department of the Graduate School at The American University, Washington, D. C. Its members, who prepared this statement, are Louis C. Hunter, who did his graduate work at Harvard University; Ernst Correll, University of Munich; Caroline Ware, Radcliffe; John C. Patterson, Duke University; and Eugene N. Anderson, chairman, University of Chicago.—EDITOR.

THE curriculum for graduate students in the United States during recent years has remained relatively untouched, while that for undergraduates has been subjected to severe criticism and radical change. Convinced that the traditional requirements for the higher degrees needed critical examination, the faculty of the Graduate School of The American University has sought to appraise the situation that a student of today

must meet, and to adjust degree requirements and programs of work accordingly.

Students in the field of history come with a desire to approach the study of the past as an aid to an understanding of the present. Most of them are better trained in the social sciences than were their predecessors. They are aware of the unreality of present-day departmentalization and are interested in working out relationships that cut across the boundaries of traditional “disciplines.” They desire to learn to use the analytical techniques of the other social sciences for studying and interpreting the past and for making into a composite picture the data not merely from areas of politics, economics and the like, but also from those of literature, art, music, and religion.

THE faculty of history at The American University has endeavored to bring its program of graduate study into line with these needs and with the most fruitful experience of curriculum making below the graduate level.<sup>1</sup> The program as set forth in the catalogue is as follows:

“The work in the field of history is planned to serve a double purpose: first, to develop historical perspective for the understanding of contemporary society; second, to apply the techniques of social analysis provided by the other social sciences for the comprehension of the past. An integrated program of study will be

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<sup>1</sup> See the Report of the Commission on Examinations in History of the College Entrance correspondence between Dr Conyers Read and Dr Caroline Ware relative to the new examinations being framed in accordance with this report, *Social Education*, September, 1938.

planned with each student in order to insure that his work is both comprehensive in training and methods of research, and unified in the general objective. The program will be designed to provide experience in methods of handling the several types of historical material; for example, political, institutional, constitutional, diplomatic, economic, social and ideological. The content of the program of study will vary according to each student's particular line of interest."

#### COMPREHENSIVE EXAMINATION REQUIREMENTS<sup>2</sup>

"FOR the M.A. the comprehensive examination will cover either of the two sub-fields in group A, one sub-field from group E, and one sub-field from the other groups. For the Ph.D. the comprehensive examination will cover both sub-fields in group A, and at least one sub-field from each of the other groups. The sub-fields offered for the M.A. may be offered (for more intensive examination) as sub-fields for the Ph.D.

"A. A survey of the history of (1) Europe, (2) the United States. The emphasis will be placed upon a knowledge of general trends and major problems, and familiarity with the bibliography and historiography.

"B. Study of a particular nation or area, such as, Russia, the Balkans, the north European industrial areas, the frontier, New England.

"C. Study of a special period, such as, the United States since 1900, the Renaissance, the French Revolution, England in the 18th Century.

"D. Study of a special phase of a nation or area or period, such as, the economic history of modern Europe, German nationalism, modern revolutions, diplomatic history of the United States, regionalism in the United States.

"E. Study of other social sciences (for example, economics, political science, soci-

ology) relevant to the student's line of interest."

By these requirements, the student is assured the opportunity to explore widely in his endeavor to understand as fully as possible the character and limits of his interests. We would rather have a student push his inquiry to the frontiers of understanding than to remain within the safe bounds of a standardized subject. We prefer a penetrating statement of the basic points in an historical problem to an immature attempt to "solve" the problem. We believe that the student of political history, for example, must know other kinds of history—economic, social, administrative—and that the primary function of graduate study is not to supply the student with sufficient facts and ideas to last him a lifetime but to equip him to use and understand diverse kinds of material.

THE actual program of one student may illustrate the procedure in operation. This student entered the Graduate School with a strong background in undergraduate history and literature and little work in other social sciences. She took as her first year's program courses in the Evolution of Economic Institutions, Development of American Culture, European Nationalism, Modern Russia. In a seminar on the Evolution of Cultural Institutions which used the sixteenth century as its focus for material and discussion, she became interested in the changes in class structure in England under the impact of the commercial and religious revolutions. In her second year, her program contains a general course in sociology, a course in American Communities which applies sociological and historical techniques to contemporary material, courses in the social and economic history of the nineteenth century and the intellectual history of Europe, and research supervision on her study of social classes provided by professors drawn from the fields of both history and sociology. Before she completes her graduate work, she will take sufficient work

<sup>2</sup> In addition to these comprehensives there will be an examination on the thesis and the general area into which it fits.

in the field of economics to give her the necessary tools for her studies. Her subjects for the comprehensive examination for the doctorate are:

- A. American history, European history
- B. Modern England
- C. Europe in the nineteenth century
- D. Comparative social history of modern Europe and United States
- E. Techniques of social research

THE emphasis upon text-criticism for graduate training is a heritage of historical research in the classical and medieval fields, where it is technically vital; but it is merely a tool for digging out the evidence. It does not provide the student with a basis for interpretation. Where material is so voluminous as in modern history and viewpoints are so varied as in our contemporary age, the historian must be able to apply to his data not only textual criticism but tools of interpretation. Consciously or unconsciously he is forced to select his data on the basis of hypotheses, and to analyze them with the aid of systematic categories of thought. Each age poses questions to the past; our age puts these questions within the framework of its social scientific training and the historian must either answer them in like spirit or fail to be seriously constructive. We expect a student to be familiar with those techniques necessary for analyzing the aspects of society with which, in his historical study, he is dealing. He will be examined on work in the other social sciences, not as separate units, but as an integral part of his historical training.

By teaching students to use general criteria of the social sciences for analyzing similar materials in several periods or areas

we hope to open up many subjects in the past which historians have neglected because they have not been trained to think and observe in these terms. Students should command criteria for comparing two institutions or events or ages, for perceiving more clearly their common qualities and their individuality. This training should tighten the thinking of students and give them a more precise and consistent framework for their facts. It should assist the student to overcome scholarly provincialism and enable the results of the historian's work to be used more effectively than in the past by historians in other fields and by other social scientists.

SUCCESS or failure of this program ultimately depends upon the calibre of the students and teachers. The conditions for the higher degrees which we have introduced serve mainly as a statement of purpose and as a guide toward the realization of this purpose. We have endeavored to set up standards which will enable us to draw history and the other social sciences together, which will enable us to explain past and present more adequately, which will not impose the strait-jacket of political or economic history upon the student but will permit him to choose the phase of his special interest, and which will train both future teachers and future research workers. We do not believe that the teacher and research worker need different paths of instruction. We do believe that the American historian runs the risk of losing his function in society, as has the historian in other countries, and we are endeavoring to offer conditions of training designed to preserve his function in the modern world.



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# Literature of Government and Politics Abroad, 1937 and 1938

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

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**D**URING the past two years, events abroad have had unusual political significance. Quite apart from the startling changes in the contour of international relations in many areas, domestic issues have left their mark on the constitutional structure as well as the political balance in more than one European country. These two aspects of state action, the domestic and the international, are perhaps more closely related than has been commonly recognized in eras of relative peace. It is not, however, unimportant to distinguish, for purposes of analysis, domestic developments as they affect the organization and practices of government. They will be discussed here in relation to the major states of the world, both democratic and totalitarian. No doubt this distinction is losing its precision of meaning as the policies, internal and international, of the European states are apparently converging toward a common level of irresponsibility from popular controls. But it is, perhaps, the most convenient differentiation which can be made between types of states and forms of government—and it may well possess increasing relevance as the *Götterdämmerung* of the contem-

porary international scene works itself out toward new patterns.

It is unnecessary to review here in detail the domestic events that have been disturbing the internal politics of most countries during the past two years. The roots of political discontent lie below their surface manifestations in the changes of governments in democratic states, and they are evident behind the occasional fissures through which we can look behind the "popular enlightenment" of the propaganda ministries of the totalitarian countries. Economic insecurity and social tension have not abated; their results are reflected in both types of state in the increasing deceleration in the widely differing smooth-working political systems. The mood of frustration is evident also in the more critical temper of much of the literature of politics from and about these countries and will emerge from an examination of contemporary studies of the major countries.

## GREAT BRITAIN

**B**Y far the most significant study of the working of the British constitution in many years is Harold J. Laski's *Parliamentary Government in England*.<sup>64</sup> In breadth of scope and acute insight, the volume is reminiscent of Bagehot; certainly it is the best one-volume description and appraisal of British politics and government available. Professor Laski's own political predilections have not distorted his judgment of the trends which have culminated under the present national government, and have so

Last month we published the first section of this review of "The Literature of Politics, 1937 and 1938," which was devoted to the American scene. Professor Bradley is head of the department of political science at Queens College of the City of New York.

<sup>64</sup> New York: Viking, 1938.

profoundly altered the balance between Parliament and Cabinet described by Bagehot. He treats of the party system, the House of Lords, the House of Commons, the Cabinet, the civil service, Parliament and the courts, and the monarchy. Throughout, his discussion is informed by an unusually wide and intimate acquaintance with the actual operations of the institutions described. Himself an alderman of a London borough, a member of several royal commissions and professional colleague of cabinet members, and advisor to the Labor governments and member of the Labor party executive, he brings an unrivalled practical knowledge (for an unofficial person) of how government really functions to the enrichment of a scholar's observations and reflections. The result is a work of art (in style and cogency) as well as a treatise of the first order in political science. Where his own reflections and queries intrude on his account of the British political system, it is to sharpen the reader's sense of the nice delicacy of political adjustment it represents—and the fragility of its present structure. Professor Laski's inferences for the future provide a useful guide to an understanding of the present tensions evident in the relations of Parliament, the Cabinet, and the Crown.

One of the ingenious political institutions of British government which we have developed only to a rudimentary degree here is the expert investigatory committee. Hugh McDowall Clokie and J. William Robinson's *Royal Commissions of Inquiry*<sup>65</sup> is the first comprehensive description of the origins, development, and activities of these unique agencies of British government. The appointment of an *ad hoc* royal commission, composed of members of Parliament, government officials, and lay members selected for their expert knowledge, is a normal procedure for gathering and weighing controversial data. Prior to legislative proposals on technical problems of public policy, or when issues in the realm of public concern become exigent, a royal commission is set up to sift

and orient fact, opinion, and policy. The result, reviewed for the century of their development, has been to make of this convenient and flexible agency one of the most fruitful experiments in policy appraisal yet devised by any government. There is much of comparative value in this factual account of the operation of the royal commission.<sup>66</sup>

The abdication of Edward VIII was the most significant constitutional crisis in Great Britain since the House of Lords bill of 1911. The facts need no review here; there has been no comparable event in its psychological as well as its political implications since the House of Windsor became the ruling house of England. The unique quality of the Crown, which transcends in the sentiment of the people any regard for its transitory wearer in the person of King or Queen, but is symbolized by them, has been brilliantly captured by Kingsley Martin in his *The Magic of Monarchy*.<sup>67</sup> Brief as it is incisive, it focuses on the emotional as well as the political implications of the abdication. None but an Englishman could have elucidated with such complete sympathy and insight, and yet with critical detachment, the mysteries—as well as the magic—of monarchy as it is conceived by the English. The most subtle of all political institutions, a survival in pomp but not in power, a symbol of loyalty that reaches around the world and binds races as diverse as they are different, the British monarchy defies analysis. Here its invisible radiations are caught and refracted with a prismatic clarity rarely found in the literature of politics.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup> The work of the National Resources Committee, of several of President Roosevelt's special committees (for example, the ones on the cooperative movement in Europe, labor policies in Great Britain, and such occasional state commissions as the New York state commission for revision of the tax laws or the Regents inquiry) may be roughly compared with the royal commission, but in status, prestige, and effectiveness in influencing the course of policy and opinion, the American commissions have still far to travel before achieving the position of the royal commission.

<sup>67</sup> New York: Knopf, 1937.

<sup>68</sup> One or two other books on the monarchy and the abdication are especially useful. Arthur B. Keith's *The King, the Constitution, the Empire, and Foreign Affairs*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1938, brings together

<sup>66</sup> Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1937.

Two books relating to administration in Great Britain may be noted briefly. Hiram M. Stout's *Public Service in Great Britain*<sup>69</sup> is a brief but illuminating analysis of the relations between the civil service, the cabinet minister, and the "Honorable Member" of Parliament. The author has succeeded admirably in catching some of the unwritten aspects, the intangibles, of expert lay governance as it has developed in Great Britain. There is little in the literature on this side of political-administrative integration. Professor Stout has made some valuable trial borings; there is room, however, for further intensive prospecting in the relations of legislator and administrator in Great Britain—as here.

*Public Enterprise*,<sup>70</sup> edited by William A. Robson, is a collection of ten papers by nine authors of various public services. Several deal with government corporations, others with the more traditional state departments, one with the cooperative movement which is itself a kind of public service. Administrative development in Great Britain, in organizational differentiation as well as in procedural and functional innovation, has been more rapid than in this country. The results of British experiments are here briefly but effectively presented. These studies are not only informing as to British experience but suggestive of a trend clearly evident. As administrative frontiers are pushed outward by the necessity of governmental action in new areas of action, that experience will provide significant data for American practice.<sup>71</sup>

some of the author's contemporary papers on the abdication. No discussion of the constitutional issues involved is more vigorous or forthright, although it is strongly partisan. Compton MacKenzie's *The Windsor Tapestry*. New York: Stokes, 1938, is an equally partisan defense of the Duke of Windsor, and criticism of the policy which impelled his abdication.

<sup>69</sup> Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1938.

<sup>70</sup> Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1937.

<sup>71</sup> Several other volumes on British government and politics are worth noting. H. R. G. Greaves' *British Constitution*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1938, is a searching but still valuable study of government, and the social and economic forces at work in Great Britain. W. I. Jennings and C. M. Young's *Constitutional Laws of the*

#### GERMANY

THE English-reading world has long awaited an unexpurgated edition of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. It has appeared simultaneously from two publishing houses.<sup>72</sup> No review of this book, nearly a thousand pages long, can adequately reflect the author's thoughts. It is without question the most important "document" on the domestic and international policies of Germany. It should be available to every teacher and student as a source for the understanding of contemporary ideas that, from the mind of a single man, have been translated into the active program of a nation of 80,000,000.

Several other documentary volumes have recently appeared which, in shorter space, portray the Nazi ideology. *The Nazi Primer*<sup>73</sup> translated by Harwood L. Childs, with commentary by our former ambassador, William E. Dodd, is the official textbook in what may euphemistically be called the social studies in Germany today. It provides an invaluable insight into the process of indoctrination going on quite consciously in the schools. Here again is an indispensable volume for the reference shelf. Theodore

*British Empire*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1938, is the first comprehensive collection of the constitutions and basic interpretive documents of the Dominions. It is an invaluable reference work. A. P. Herbert's *The Ayes Have It*. New York: Doubleday Doran, 1938, is a serious account by the famous humorist, now member of parliament for the Oxford University, of his single-handed and successful parliamentary battle for the passage of the new divorce bill. For an insider's view of how the House of Commons really works, this little light-hearted volume is unrivalled. On recent British foreign policy, three books may be mentioned. R. W. Seton-Watson's *Britain and the Dictators*. New York: Macmillan, 1938, is the most searching indictment of post-war policy yet to appear from the pen of an acknowledged authority in European history, Winston Churchill's *While England Slept*. New York: Putnam, 1938, is a collection of the public addresses of the most acute and farsighted parliamentary critic of that policy. Robert Briffault's *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1938, is an even more scathing appraisal. Uncritical and provocative, it is nevertheless readable and challenging.

<sup>72</sup> New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1939, and New York: Stackpole, 1939. The former is the "authorized" edition and contains some useful annotations by a distinguished group of commentators.

<sup>73</sup> New York: Harper, 1938. With this should be read Erika Mann's *School for Barbarians*. New York: Modern Age, 1938, a documentary commentary on present educational policies in Germany.



Fred Abel's *Why Hitler Came to Power*<sup>74</sup> is a collection of six autobiographical accounts written by Germans who were in the country as late as 1934, supplemented by a useful analysis of the rise of Naziism based on over six hundred documents of the same type. The narrators range from the humblest workers through the professional and other skilled groups to party and government officials. Professor Abel's own description of the rise to power of the NSDAP is one of the most searching and authoritative so far available. In *Lunacy Becomes Us*<sup>75</sup> edited by Clara Leiser, there is a unique and, to believers in democracy, devastatingly damning collection of official statements from high party officials on the purposes and programs of Nazi Germany. These four books provide a more vivid and provocative defense of democracy than any of the theoretical or hortatory indictments of fascism. They should become compulsory reading and reference in every school in America.

Of the appraisals so far made of the Nazi regime, Robert A. Brady's *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism*<sup>76</sup> is perhaps the most thorough and authoritative. The author has treated not only the organization and policies of the government as to economic and fiscal control but its impact on the arts and sciences, labor, youth, and the home. Throughout, the study is based on official German sources; conclusions are derived from the documents, not from hearsay or opposition opinion. The omission of a treatment of Nazi policies toward the oppressed racial groups limits the comprehensiveness of the study.<sup>77</sup> No other account by a foreigner, however, is more incisive; none offers so convenient an index to the transformation of life and thought under Hitler.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>74</sup> New York: Prentice Hall, 1938.

<sup>75</sup> New York: Liveright, 1939.

<sup>76</sup> New York: Viking, 1937.

<sup>77</sup> On the latter question, see O. I. Janowsky, and M. M. Fagen, *International Aspects of German Racial Policies*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1937.

<sup>78</sup> Compare H. Lichtenberger, *The Third Reich*, translated by Koppel S. Pinson with notes and an addi-

Before Czechoslovakia there was Austria. German foreign policy stood at the parting of the ways at Vienna. While no general study of Nazi foreign relations has yet appeared, Mary Margaret Ball's *Post-War German-Austrian Relations*<sup>79</sup> is a significant case study, carefully documented and objectively critical, of the first step in Hitler's march toward a Greater Germany. It is by all odds the most important contribution to an understanding of the background of the problem of German unification and brings into sharp relief the profound alteration in methods if not in objectives of fascist diplomacy.

#### ITALY

THE aftermath of Ethiopia has been Spain. That "adventure" has brought Italian fascism nearer its goal of Mediterranean hegemony. And it has released a flood of books on the question of Italian foreign policy. The most challenging is Geoffrey T. Garratt's *Mussolini's Roman Empire*.<sup>80</sup> Written from a British left-wing viewpoint, it is at once a critique of Italian objectives and of the democratic countries' failure to comprehend the irreconcilability of fascist aims and their own national interest. A more objective and authoritative study is by Maxwell Macartney and Paul Cremona, *Italy's Foreign and Colonial Policy, 1914-1937*.<sup>81</sup> The authors, one American, one English, long correspondents in Rome come to about the same conclusions; they are as critical of British as of Italian policies in the post-war years.<sup>82</sup>

Of domestic policy, there has also been

tional chapter. London: Duckworth, 1938. Compare also M. Ascoli and A. Feiler, *Fascism for Whom*. New York: Norton, 1938, for an acute analysis of fascist ideology and practices by two exiles, one German, one Italian, who merge their knowledge of its operation in the two countries.

<sup>79</sup> Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1937.

<sup>80</sup> Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1938.

<sup>81</sup> New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1938.

<sup>82</sup> Two other studies in the same field are worth noting: Margaret Boveri, *Mediterranean Cross-Currents*. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1938, and Elizabeth Monroe, *The Mediterranean in Politics*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1938.



more than one challenge. The most brilliant indictment of fascism that has yet appeared is Giuseppe Antonio Borgese's *Goliath*.<sup>83</sup> This distinguished exile has poured the vials of his wrath into pages which match insight with style, pure literature with acute and penetrating criticism. Professor Borgese finds the inspiration of fascist ideology in the shades of Machiavelli; its ultimate defeat in the living spirit of Dante. There is no doubt where he stands on every issue in the irrevocable conflict between freedom and authoritarianism. His faith in the final triumph of liberty in Italy is based on intimate acquaintance with the events that have brought it into eclipse. Documented from first hand observation rather than from the sources, it is a work of art as much as it is itself a document of unique importance. It is worth reading as much in the former as in the latter sense.

Quite different in approach is Carl T. Schmidt's *The Plough and the Sword*.<sup>84</sup> This study of "labor, land, and property in fascist Italy" is a carefully documented appraisal of Mussolini's agricultural policies and their results.<sup>85</sup> The dramatic draining of the Pontine Marshes is found by the author merely to accentuate the steady and tragic decline in the already low standards of living of the Italian peasants. Here the course and incidence of that decline are carefully documented to give the reader a strictly factual basis from which to judge the real as against the advertised "blessings" of fascism as registered in the economic security of the masses.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>83</sup> New York: Viking, 1937.

<sup>84</sup> New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1938.

<sup>85</sup> A more popular illustrated commentary on differential standards of living in Italy, Germany, the USSR, and the United States is to be found in M. E. Tracy, *Our Country, Our People, and Theirs*. New York: Macmillan, 1938.

<sup>86</sup> Few other books on governments abroad have appeared in the period. The New Russian Constitution is translated and annotated by A. L. Strong, *The New Soviet Constitution*. New York: Holt, 1937. *Moscow in the Making* by Sir Ernest Darwin Simon and Lady Simon, W. A. Robson, and J. Jewkes. New York: Longmans Green, 1937, is a detailed study of the government and the program of reconstruction of Russia's capital city, which rivals in concept that of

#### THE POLITICAL SCIENTIST LOOKS AT GOVERNMENT

DURING the past several years, two interesting projects have been developed for the description and appraisal of the government and politics of individual countries by scholars each of whom is an authority in his own field. These series have now progressed to a point where their value is demonstrated. These individual studies bring much more clearly into focus the actual workings of the governments of these countries and the forces operating on them than can any general text. Moreover, they tend to be more lively and interesting, for the very reason that they are the product of intimate acquaintance rather than of cloistered (no matter how competent) study. The authors in both series have been selected for their special knowledge of the governments they describe. Several are nationals of the countries of which they write. All have first hand contacts with those they analyze. The result is a distinct contribution to the materials hitherto available for the study of comparative government; certainly one at least of the books on each of the countries covered should be on every school library shelf. And the collection should be kept up to date as new volumes appear.<sup>87</sup>

Baron Haussmann's reconstruction of Paris under Napoleon III. *The Baltic States*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1938, is a factual study, including the political structure, of these countries by the research staff of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. *Democratic Sweden*, edited by M. I. P. Cole and Charles Smith. New York: Greystone, 1939, is the first of the many books on that country to provide a useful account of the politics and government of perhaps the most truly democratic country in Europe.

<sup>87</sup> The McGraw Hill Series, edited by F. Morstein Marx, includes the following volumes: F. M. Marx, *Government in the Third Reich*, 1937; H. A. Steiner, *Government in Fascist Italy*, 1938; F. E. Manuel, *Politics of Modern Spain*, 1938; P. M. A. Linebarger, *Government in Republican China*, 1938. The Van Nostrand Series includes: W. E. Rappard, *The Government of Switzerland*, 1937; W. R. Sharp, *The Government of the French Republic*, 1937; H. W. Schneider, *The Fascist Government of Italy*, 1937; J. K. Pollock, *The Government of Greater Germany*, 1938; Samuel N. Harper, *The Government of the Soviet Union*, 1938; B. A. Arneson, *The Democratic Monarchies of Scandinavia*, 1939; and all the authors have combined in a documentary collection, *Source Book on European Governments*.

Of all annual publications in the field of government, Walter H. Mallory's *Political Handbook of the World*<sup>88</sup> is by all odds the most useful. It provides a directory of the governmental organization, party and parliamentary personnel, press relations, and other useful data on every country—from Afghanistan to Yugoslavia. The volumes are indispensable for reference, and, from year to year, present the essential information for detecting changes in political temper as well as governmental structure the world around.

#### INTERNATIONAL LAW AND RELATIONS

**THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE.** From the Manchurian invasion of 1931 historians will perhaps date the overt beginning of the debacle in the movement toward a world order based on the principle of collective security; but it has become more or less complete in the period under review. The "axis" powers' foreign policy, linked formally in a "triangle" with that of Japan, has been directed toward the final cancellation of the "Dictat" of Versailles, but in fact it had already begun to outrun that objective before Munich. Italy's successful invasion of Ethiopia was outside the orbit of European balance-of-power politics, as was Japan's undeclared war on China. Germany's continental adventures did not stop with the Austrian Anschluss. The Spanish tragedy, very largely the product of the interventionist tactics of Germany and Italy, departed still further from any relevance to a redressing of the injustices of the peace treaties. Statesmen of the status quo countries—whatever their justification—have failed to maintain even the semblance of order or unity in international relations. Diplomacy by *coup d'état* seems at the moment in the ascendant; its repercussions reach far beyond the immediate incidents in which it is invoked to deflect if not dominate the foreign policies of every country. The orbit of violence in international society is widening, its incidence more intense and

disrupting than for a century and a half. The conflict of ideologies becomes year by year more evident and apparently more irreconcilable. It is against this background that a prolific literature of interpretation—and often of doom—has traced the outlines of the shape of things as they are and are to come. In this section the more general studies will be noted, without attempting to include the many significant studies of particular episodes. In the following section, the implications for American foreign policy will be traced in the books which have, during the period under review, combined analysis with prognostication.

The most useful, indeed indispensable, of the general reviews of international politics is the annual *Survey of International Affairs*<sup>89</sup> published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs under the supervisory editorship (and considerable writing) of Arthur J. Toynbee. With its companion volume of *Documents*, it provides a unique contribution of contemporary history. Detached in tone, objective in appraisal, thoroughly documented, and unusually detailed in its general scope and in the treatment of individual topics, it relates the background of events to their contemporaneous happening. No other publication of the sort exists; few more specialized studies attain equal comprehensiveness or authority of analysis. And the catholicity of judgment displayed by the authors is presented in a style distinguished for clarity and charm. Despite the great detail and complexity of the subject matter, the main outline of the account is never lost or beclouded by the wealth of the materials included.

The old order—the idea and organization of a League of Nations and other agencies of international administration—continues to receive attention in the midst of the eclipse. Marie J. Carroll's *Key to League of Nations Documents*,<sup>90</sup> the fourth of a similar series of index-directories of League publications,

<sup>88</sup> New York: Harper, 1939.

<sup>89</sup> New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

<sup>90</sup> New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1938.

is at once a chart of its far-flung activities, and an indispensable guide to a study of what is still the nexus of international administrative energy. The looseleaf *Handbook of International Relations*<sup>91</sup> by Mary J. Carroll and Pennington Haile is an attempt to give in concise form up-to-date information, with relevant documentary citations and bibliographies, on all major issues in international affairs. Economic, military, legal, as well as political aspects of international relations are treated. It is the most complete and authoritative reference service available and should be in every school library. S. Shepard Jones' *The Scandinavian States and the League of Nations*<sup>92</sup> is one of the most pertinent studies of the relations of sovereign states to the League to appear in many years. No statesmen have exerted a more consistently progressive influence at Geneva than the Scandinavian. Throughout the heyday of League influence on world affairs, they supported democratic policies and procedures in the international incidents and functions within the League's jurisdiction. There emerges from these pages conclusive evidence that international amity can be achieved within the ambit of sovereignty; the lesson is worth the clarification it has received at the hands of the author. In a sense an epitaph to idealism, the events and attitudes traced in these pages are very likely to become the commonplace book of the statesmen who in the future attempt to retrace the same path. The sixth volume of Manley O. Hudson's *International Legislation*<sup>93</sup> covers the period 1932-34 and lists ninety-eight treaties integrating joint administrative activity among two or more states. Treaty texts are a useful index of the steady though undramatic growth in cooperation among states in fields where high politics exert their influence only tangentially to block the trend, evident for more than a century, toward a true commu-

nity of states. The series of which this is but part is impressive evidence that the trend is not ended. Sir John Hope Simpson's *The Refugee Problem*<sup>94</sup> is a definitive study of the efforts to bring about through international cooperation a mitigation of the tragic plight of the exiled and ostracized victims of nationalism. The internal policies and conditions in the refugee-producing (*pace*) countries, the possibilities and results of emigration, the development of a concerted attack on the problem are here thoroughly described, analyzed, and documented. Any future portrayal of the most profound tragedy of our time will begin where this study ends; it is an invaluable case study in a significant area of contemporary international administration. *International Sanctions*,<sup>95</sup> a "group study" of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, is an objective and factual account and appraisal of the effort to apply sanctions to Italy. This experiment in controlling war by collective action failed in the formal sense. The chief lesson of the experiment is that the failure resulted not from the technical inability to make sanctions work, but from the absence of will on the part of the political representatives of the power to enforce them. That lesson emerges here; though the authors are nationals of one of the chief delinquents, they do not evade the issues implicit in the enforcement of law and order in the international community.

But the breakdown has been complete, and there are lessons to be drawn from its course. The events themselves have been described by many eye-witnesses and students of international affairs. John Gunther's *Inside Europe*,<sup>96</sup> now appearing annually, is perhaps the most authoritative

<sup>91</sup> New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1939. See also H. Fields, *The Refugee in the United States*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1938; D. Thompson, *Refugees*. New York: Random House, 1938.

<sup>92</sup> New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1938. F. S. Dunn, *Peaceful Change*. New York: Harper, 1937, is a brief study of alternative methods of resolving international disputes short of sanctions—or war.

<sup>93</sup> New York: Harper, 1938.

<sup>94</sup> With cumulative supplements, 1938. 8 West 40th Street, New York City.

<sup>95</sup> Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1939.

<sup>96</sup> Washington: Carnegie Endowment, 1937.



popular account of European events.<sup>97</sup> The Munich episode has received thorough and objective analysis and appraisal in Hamilton F. Armstrong's *When There Is No Peace*,<sup>98</sup> which attempts to explain, not to excoriate, but the sober description is a far deadlier indictment of the diplomacy of Great Britain and France than any perfervid denunciation. Documents, some of them not elsewhere available, are utilized, careful chronological comparisons illuminate the confusions in the record and throw into sharp relief the points at which the statesmen's indecision amounted almost to evasion of responsibility. The author, by adhering strictly to the facts of the crisis, has made an important contribution to our understanding of its implications, and he has enforced again the lesson that the method of peace is courage and not vacillation. As he says, the policy of appeasement does not seem to be so much peace as an armistice. This is a model of contemporaneous historical writing; for reference—and reflection—it is indispensable.<sup>99</sup>

Of the brief interpretations (rather than descriptions) of post-war international relations, the most suggestive and incisive is Carl J. Friedrich's *Foreign Policy in the Making*.<sup>100</sup> Professor Friedrich charts the

<sup>97</sup> Four other books may be noted. Each is a highly useful study of recent diplomatic events. F. L. Schuman, *Europe on the Eve*. New York: Knopf, 1939, is the most detailed available account of recent diplomatic events. V. M. Dean, *Europe in Retreat*. New York: Knopf, 1939; G. E. R. Gedy, *Betrayal in Central Europe*. New York: Harper, 1939; and M. W. Fodor, *South of Hitler*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1939, are based on first hand acquaintance with the areas now disintegrating under the pressures of diplomacy by *coup d'état*. The author of the first is on the research staff of the Foreign Policy Association and has drawn a vivid picture of diplomatic history since 1919. The others are European correspondents who have been eye-witnesses of the events they describe.

<sup>98</sup> New York: Macmillan, 1939.

<sup>99</sup> Compare G. Hutton, *Survey After Munich*. Boston: Little Brown, 1939, an Englishman's apology for the Chamberlain policy. His earlier *Is It Peace?* New York: Macmillan, 1937, was a persuasive criticism of post-war British foreign policy in Europe. Taken together, these two books from the pen of an acute and liberal observer vividly illustrate the rapidity with which events have influenced thinking on the course of diplomacy.

<sup>100</sup> New York: Norton, 1938.

forces at work in "the search for a new balance of power." Beginning with an analysis of popular attitudes and reactions toward foreign policy in democratic and totalitarian states, and of the dominant factors, economic and social, operative in them, he applies it to an appraisal of events since 1920. Without attempting any detailed account of the major crises in international affairs, he succeeds in making an intelligible pattern of their recurrence in terms of conflicting national interests and ideologies. No other single volume to appear in recent years is so useful as a guide to an understanding of the reorientation of international relations during the past two decades. While interpretations may differ, the author provides a significant clue to the breakdown of collective security and the re-emergence of power politics.

"BEFORE AMERICA DECIDES." It is in the current disintegration of a world order that American observers have been forced to review and appraise the past, present, and future of our foreign policy. The period has been more than usually prolific of both types of study. A few of the more significant of the first type will be reviewed briefly; of the latter, the opposing viewpoints will be aligned, for the reader's choice.

Similar in purpose, but less comprehensive in scope than the Toynbee *Survey*, is the annual volume, *The United States in World Affairs*,<sup>101</sup> edited for the Council on Foreign Relations by Whitney H. Shepardson and William O. Scroggs. It is indispensable as a guide to the evolution of our foreign relations from year to year.

The best general analysis which has yet appeared of the part we have played, or failed to play, in the post-war movement for an organized international order is Denna F. Fleming's *The United States and World Organization, 1920-1933*.<sup>102</sup> The au-

<sup>101</sup> New York: Harper.

<sup>102</sup> New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1938.



thor, one of the distinguished scholars in the field of our foreign policy, has covered every major aspect of our diplomacy during the period, and he brings the account down to 1938 for the more recent problems confronting the country. He covers not only the diplomatic episodes and their official handling, but the popular reactions reflected in press opinion and in the activities and policies of pressure groups. He is not afraid to state a point of view or to present his own inferences; his belief in the necessity for a workable world organization makes him critical of isolationism, but the vigor of his faith does not distort his presentation of the facts. Throughout he adheres closely to the documents and other sources from which diplomatic history derives. The result is to make this study, in what the author believes to be the failure of our foreign policy to implement the implications, and responsibilities, of our world position, the most important appraisal of our post-war diplomacy yet to appear.<sup>103</sup>

The Far East has been the area of most urgent concern to this country during the past two years. Two studies of our Asiatic diplomacy of unusual importance have recently appeared. Stephen C. Y. Pan's *American Diplomacy Concerning Manchuria*<sup>104</sup> is a carefully documented study, the major emphasis of which is on the events since 1931. The author's conclusion is that "the United States holds a key position in the balance of power and the stability and prosperity of the Pacific." It is amply borne out by this study of our diplomatic intervention in the two Sino-Japanese wars (in all but law) of the present decade. It is the most thorough study so far available of this episode in our foreign relations. More comprehensive in scope and more critical and incisive in treatment is A. Whitney Gris-

wold's *The Far Eastern Policy of the United States*.<sup>105</sup> This study of the past four decades of our Asiatic diplomacy may rightly be called definitive; no other general account is so carefully traced from the sources, so authentically objective in its appraisal. Every page bears evidence of the high quality of the author's scholarship. His acquaintance with the diplomatic records not only of our own but of many foreign archives is as intimate as it is observant of significant detail. There is an articulation of the events described that makes the story of diplomatic episodes come alive with an almost contemporary vividness. Professor Griswold has made a distinguished contribution to the literature and added much to our understanding of our Far Eastern foreign relations.

More immediately critical in our diplomacy are our relations with Latin America. The orientation of the countries south of the Rio Grande toward this country has been greatly strengthened by the Roosevelt-Hull "good neighbor" policy. It is now increasingly threatened by the fascist penetration, political, economical, and ideological. The issue was dramatized at the Lima Conference in the intransigence of more than one of the Latin American states. Carleton Beals' *The Coming Struggle for Latin America*<sup>106</sup> is a popular study of the strategy and tactics which France, Germany, and Italy have applied in Latin countries. Based on first hand observation by the author, the book is timely and important for the pertinence and authenticity of the evidence he presents of the shifting balance of influence now proceeding apace. It is reporting and interpretation of first rate quality. And the issue becomes daily more urgent, if the idea of Pan-American solidarity in a democratic tradition is not to be frustrated. Mr Beals has made explicit the challenge to our ideo-

<sup>103</sup> On the economic aspects of recent foreign policy, especially the Hull trade treaty program, see P. W. Bidwell, *Our Trade with Britain*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1938; H. J. Tosca, *The Reciprocal Trade Policy of the United States*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1938.

<sup>104</sup> Washington: Catholic Univ. of America, 1938.

<sup>105</sup> New York: Harcourt Brace, 1938.

<sup>106</sup> Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1938. In *The German Reich and Americans of German Origin*, sponsored by C. C. Burlingham and others, New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1938, there is incontrovertible evidence of similar Nazi penetration tactics in the United States.

logical and political hegemony in the Western Hemisphere—while there is yet time. His book provides the most acute analysis in recent years of our “interest” in this area.

Europe confronts us with the most urgent and most confusing problem in our foreign relations. The Neutrality acts of 1935 and 1937, compromises though they were in final form, were designed to make it possible, economically and politically, to stay out of another European war. Contemporary statements of leaders in Washington, from the President and Secretary of State to congressional leaders, indicate how rapidly opinion has altered as to the possibilities—and the equities—of “isolation.” The issue becomes, month by month, more exigent; it spans many questions of domestic as well as foreign policy. What are our defense needs in terms of naval, military, and air construction? What will be the internal economic and social, as well as political, repercussions of a race in armaments? Can we “make the world safe for democracy” by another Armageddon? How far beyond the moral support of the so-called “democracies” shall we go? Is the conduct of our foreign policy leading us toward active participation in a European conflict? Should we align ourselves positively with anti-fascist powers in an effort to prevent, if possible, the outbreak of general war in Europe?

These are questions on which opinions differ widely. Answers have been drawn in varying terms, depending on the premises on which the arguments rest. The books noted here fall in general into three groups. One group of writers would have us remain aloof from European politics, preserve a policy of isolation, limit our defense program to the protection of our area of hegemony—the Western Hemisphere. A second would have us join actively in a democratic front against the fascist attack upon democracy, in principle as well as territory, by economic as well as political aggression. The third group views more objectively the factors at work and attempts to appraise their influence on our foreign policy in the making.

In the first group, perhaps the most important contribution to clear thinking on our defense needs which has appeared in this century is Major George F. Eliot's *The Ramparts We Watch*.<sup>107</sup> His analysis is informed by the military expert's knowledge of the facts and material essential to effective defense and knowledge of the citizen's concern to avoid both foreign war and domestic invasion. The result is a compelling argument for an armaments program limited to a single objective, the defense against attack of both Americas. That can be achieved, he believes, at far less cost in money and in emotional and economic entanglement than will result from our present vast and badly defined armaments program. It is as refreshing as it is useful to find the premises in a discussion of “defense” set forth, and argument strictly related to them. No book of the post-war years has so notably contributed to clarity and precision of thinking on what is perhaps the most immediate—and significant—issue before a country whose decisions become each day more difficult in the midst of world events.

Mauritz A. Hallgren's *The Tragic Fallacy*<sup>108</sup> is an able and illuminating historical brief in support of Major Eliot's thesis. The “tragic fallacy” is a belief in the profits—in results as opposed to prestige, in national as contrasted with special “interest” (economic or political)—of imperialism based on militarism. The analysis is that of the journalist rather than of the scholar, but it is based strictly on the record and provides persuasive evidence of the failure of an expansionist foreign policy to attain the “national interest” at home. It is the best of the popular isolationist arguments which attempts to draw its inferences from the his-

<sup>107</sup> New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1938. See also J. Hagood, *We Can Defend America*. New York: Doubleday Doran, 1937. It is not irrelevant to note that these two military experts agree on much more limited “defense” appropriations than even our present commitments as adequate for the military supremacy of the United States in the Western Hemisphere. Compare L. Hartley, *Our Maginot Line*. New York: Carrick and Evans, 1939.

<sup>108</sup> New York: Knopf, 1937.

torical as well as the contemporary scene.<sup>109</sup>

Stuart Chase's *The New Western Front*<sup>110</sup> is a reasoned reply to Lewis Mumford's *Men Must Act* (noted below). It does not pretend to be an exhaustive analysis of the issue confronting us. A searching argument on so subtle a problem can not be compressed within two hundred pages. As a journalistic *tour de force*, however, it is as brilliant as it is penetrating. No other brief for isolation covers so much ground in so little space, and with such cogency. It should be in every teacher's, and school, library as an introduction to more detailed analyses.

The exponents of our joining, perhaps leading, a democratic "axis"—as the surer road to ultimate avoidance of war—have made significant contributions to clarifying the issue in several notable volumes. Clarence K. Streit's *Union Now*<sup>111</sup> is perhaps the most persuasive; certainly it is the most comprehensive in outlook and treatment. The author, for many years the *New York Times* correspondent at Geneva, has had unrivalled opportunity to observe the disintegration of the movement for a world organization based on collective security. He gives a reasoned analysis of the case for cooperative American action to create a preponderance of power for the anti-fascist bloc.<sup>112</sup>

Briefer and more impassioned, Lewis Mumford's *Men Must Act*<sup>113</sup> evokes the emotions rather than the reason of the reader. It is a brilliant and incisive statement of the thesis of collective action to destroy the fascist menace to the ideals, and interests, of the democracies. No one who pretends to a concern for the future of our foreign policy can afford to ignore this bril-

liant and exciting statement of his thesis.<sup>114</sup>

The analysts of the third group have contributed two important studies in clarification. J. Fred Rippy's *America and the Strife of Europe*<sup>115</sup> is a brief but trenchant review of our post-war diplomacy. The author draws no hard and fast conclusions but offers a clear and incisive interpretation of events by which to illuminate judgments as to the causes, course, and commitments of our future policy. *Before America Decides*,<sup>116</sup> edited by two Harvard undergraduates, Frank P. Davidson and George S. Viereck, Jr, is a collection of a dozen essays on contemporary factors in our foreign policy. Economic, social, psychological, military, and political aspects of the problem are considered by a dozen recognized authorities, who advocate everything from strict isolation to active intervention in the present world conflict of interests and ideologies. No other single volume provides so comprehensive an analysis of the "background" of the "issue" confronting us.

How we receive our impressions of the international scene is perhaps the least understood, and the most important, factor in the making of foreign policy where public opinion is still free to exercise influence on foreign offices. The distortion of judgment by propaganda has steadily increased with the advance of the dictatorships.

<sup>114</sup> In the same vein but more temperately argued is H. F. Armstrong, *We or They*. New York: Macmillan, 1937. An attempt to balance the pros and cons of the question, in domestic as well as external terms, is to be found in C. B. Hoover, *Dictators and Democracies*. New York: Macmillan, 1937. Two useful books dealing respectively with the comparative strength and the domestic effect of war between the democracies and the dictatorships are R. E. Dupuy and G. F. Eliot, *If War Comes*. New York: Macmillan, 1937, and H. Spier and A. Kahler, *War in Our Time*. New York: Norton, 1939. H. C. Herring, *And So to War*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1938, is an analysis of the drift of Roosevelt's foreign policy in terms of a definite "set" toward intervention in Europe—of which the author does not approve. Q. Howe, *England Expects Every American to Do His Duty*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1937, is a cogent argument against the possibility of a true Anglo-American cooperation, because there is nothing stable in British policy compatible with our interests.

<sup>115</sup> Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1938.

<sup>116</sup> Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1938.

<sup>109</sup> Compare H. S. and J. Raushenbush, *The Final Choice*. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1937, for a more intensive analysis of our experience in the World War and the inferences to be drawn from that episode as to our present foreign policy. The authors' conclusions are the same as Mr Hallgren's—for isolation.

<sup>110</sup> New York: Harcourt Brace, 1939.

<sup>111</sup> New York: Harper, 1939.

<sup>112</sup> Compare F. E. Jones, *The Defense of Democracy*. New York: Dutton, 1938, a less careful and reasoned argument in the same direction.

<sup>113</sup> New York: Harcourt Brace, 1939.



"Popular enlightenment" now seeks to reach beyond frontiers both positively and negatively. Three books dealing with this significant aspect of the democratic control of foreign relations may be noted, Cesar Saerchinger's *Hello America*, E. J. Young's *Looking Behind the Censorships*, and R. W. Desmond's *The Press and World Affairs*.<sup>117</sup> Each author treats variously but pertinently of how our news, by radio and in the press, is filtered through the controls set up at the source. The first is a compilation of informal comments by one of our ablest European radio men, the representative of CBS abroad for seven years. Many facets beside the political are treated, but there are significant chapters on important events he covered during the 1930's. And two chapters on "systems and politics" are perhaps the most incisive analysis available of the relation of radio to international diplomacy. Mr Young, one of our ablest correspondents abroad, writes similarly of his experiences, especially in the dictatorships, but his comments reveal how difficult it is to obtain the day-to-day data for intelligent judgment on contemporary events. Like Mr Saerchinger, he presents vivid and illuminating insights into the game of bluff between censors and newshawks. Mr Desmond's volume is the first inclusive attempt to describe and appraise the organization, reporting, and transmitting techniques, and the role of the press on the international plane. It is an important contribution to an understanding of how "the pictures in our heads" of international events are manufactured. Here then is a brief spectrum of current views of the international scene. Clear understanding of how we receive our impressions, and of the limitations on news at the source, is of primary importance in estimating the bearing of the general situation abroad on our own policies. What that policy should be rests on premises widely divergent and ultimately irreconcilable. The answer rests on the clarity and objectivity with which our citizens,

<sup>117</sup> Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1938; Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1938; New York: Appleton Century, 1937.

present and prospective, appraise the issues which the observers have examined for us.<sup>118</sup>

#### POLITICAL THEORIES—IN BOOKS AND ACTION

THE march of events during the past two years has accelerated speculation on the nature of the state and on the dynamics of political action. The interplay of theory and policy in a period of change is often more direct and intimate than in quiescent interludes when the premises of action have become established and are taken for granted. Pamphleteering never flourishes so luxuriantly as when economic, social, or political revolution may be just around the corner. The present is no exception. Many of the studies already cited, especially concerning the contemporary international scene, are in the high tradition of the seventeenth and eighteenth century pamphleteers; some of those to be noted here are of the same order. Moreover, the pragmatists in politics, once they have achieved power, begin to seek for theoretical justifications for their actions. It is not merely a coincidence, perhaps, that Il Duce himself, some years after the March on Rome, thought it not incompatible with the dignity of his office to submit a thesis on Macchiavelli for a university doctorate. An apologia for the exercise of power has more than once been based, by those who seized it, on the premises of the ideal state and sought in the speculations of the philosophers.

Of the more general studies in political theory, several are of unusual utility. Three texts dealing with the history of political ideas or with special aspects of the state have appeared in this country during the past two years. Chester C. Maxey's *Political Philosophies*<sup>119</sup> is one of the most convenient one-volume summaries of political thought

<sup>118</sup> *What Is Ahead of Us?* New York: Macmillan, 1937, by a group of English Liberals and Laborites is an interesting and suggestive interpretation of the international scene through English eyes. In less than two hundred pages, six authors analyze the relations between domestic and international security with incisive clarity and directness.

<sup>119</sup> New York: Macmillan, 1938.



from pre-Greek times to the present. The writers' relations to their environment and to their intellectual ancestors is emphasized throughout. Professor Maxey's own comments on the theories and the theorists are opposite rather than critical, correct rather than original. There is a certain tendency to indulge in finalities and superlatives of appraisal and of style, but it is none the less a readable and accurate review of the history of political theory. George H. Sabine's *A History of Political Theory*<sup>120</sup> is more selective, critical, and original in approach and treatment. The author has made more than one contribution of his own to political ideas; his acquaintance with the literature is informed by wide reflection and a native capacity for analysis and appraisal. The result is to make this historical survey itself something of an original contribution to the literature of theory. The style is direct and explicit; the author's judgments are as sure as they are mature. Edward McChesney Sait's *Political Institutions*<sup>121</sup> deals not only with the state in its origins and law-making functions, and with its divergent types, but with the methodology of political analysis. The author selects the aspects of each problem he sets out to examine and brings to bear on them the insights of history as well as the contemporary phenomena of their expression. His discussion of earlier doctrinaries does not preclude acute observations on his own part. For the teacher this and Professor Sabine's book will yield rich returns of well summarized background materials and of suggestive stimuli to his own thinking.

Hymen E. Cohen's *Recent Theories of Sovereignty*<sup>122</sup> covers in summary fashion the past forty years of thinking on the problem of sovereignty in the western world. It is a convenient index to the sources and summary of the major ideas which have emerged in the twentieth century.

Several original contributions to political

ideas have more than usual pertinence in a period of change, in thought as well as in the patterns of organization. Bertrand Russell's *Power*<sup>123</sup> is a survey of the nature, origins, incidence, and effects of power in its various manifestations by one of the very few seminal minds of our time. His major concern is with the "taming" of power in its more naked exercise for individual or group advantage, and with channeling its uses to communal ends. Written for the citizen, it deals in no abstraction but in the very stuff of contemporary politics, and offers a key to understanding and a basis for discovering the means for its control.

Aldous Huxley's *Ends and Means*<sup>124</sup> is "an inquiry into the nature of ideals and into the methods employed for their realization." The author has arrived at a philosophy of values inherent in individual personality and applies it persuasively to all aspects of communal life, from the family to the international order. Insight and shrewd observation combine to make this one of the most significant and suggestive studies in politics (and human behavior) of the post-war years. The chapter, for instance, on "centralization and decentralization" is perhaps the most original discussion of a technical problem in politics that has appeared in English; and in his wider inquiries into the ends of man and society and the means of attaining them he offers a continuous challenge to complacency.

John F. Dulles' *War, Peace, and Change*<sup>125</sup> is essentially a discussion of the ethics of international relations. The author, one of the Americans most intimately acquainted with post-war efforts for international organization, here reexamines the bases of international action. His answer to the riddle of the present impasse is in a reorientation of human objectives, from special interest to the general welfare, from the quest for individual or group power and prestige to

<sup>120</sup> New York: Holt, 1937.

<sup>121</sup> New York: Appleton Century, 1938.

<sup>122</sup> Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1937.

<sup>123</sup> New York: Norton, 1938.

<sup>124</sup> New York: Harper, 1937.

<sup>125</sup> New York: Harper, 1939. Compare B. deLight, *The Conquest of Violence*. New York: Dutton, 1938.

the search for a wider frame of reference for judging national objectives. Only so, he believes, can the present conflict of ideologies be assuaged, a common ground of cooperation between nation-states be formed. It is perhaps prophetic, but not less hopeful, that a new "line" of analysis should emerge from the reflections of an active observer of the events of the past two decades. This little essay of interpretation and prognosis strikes to the root of the major problem in present international politics.

J. B. S. Haldane's *Heredity and Politics*<sup>126</sup> bears on the periphery of political science but touches a central problem of theory—the character and incidence of human equality and inequality. No question has been, through the ages, more widely debated; there is none on which evidence is more necessary as a basis for policy. One of the most distinguished biologists of our day outlines the genetic answer very largely in the negative of equality. The ideas here presented, the facts on which they rest, to say nothing of the scientist's logic of analysis that cuts through many accepted prejudices with an intellectual scalpel of beautiful simplicity and precision, make this a book of unique significance to political thought.

The central issue of our time is the ideological conflict between consent and coercion, the democratic and the totalitarian ways of life. The issue is world wide, but it has its repercussions and implications for this country. Its historical roots in eighteenth and nineteenth century events and theories have been recently explored by two writers who have illuminated the present by their appraisals of the past. Marie C. Swabey's *Theory of the Democratic State*<sup>127</sup> deals with the major approaches of the past century and a half toward the meaning and justification of the democratic political organization and procedures. The author's exploration of the literature does not prevent her making her own appraisals of the effectiveness and permanence of the ideas of the protagonists

of democracy. This is one of the more original and acute contributions to democratic thought to have appeared in the post-war years. A perspective such as this at the end of an era goes far to clarify and to chart the goals toward which the new must move if the democratic spirit and practice is to survive. Benjamin E. Lippincott's *Victorian Critics of Democracy*<sup>128</sup> is an acute critique of the British anti-democrats of the last century—Carlyle, Ruskin, Arnold, Stephen, Maine, and Lecky. In a final chapter he appraises their influence not only on the thought but on the politics of their time. In neither field did they leave a permanent impress; the democratic ideas predominated, and democratic policies marched on in England despite their gloomy prophecies. Yet if England becomes overtly authoritarian, these will be the major prophets of totalitarianism. Professor Lippincott's incisive analysis of their theories provides the basis for a more intelligent and more critical understanding of the antidemocratic undertow set up by the tidal forces of change, even democratic change. The criticisms of the antidemocrats are, in every age, the storm warnings by which the democrats can, if they have the insight and the will, avoid the alternative of fascism. This book points pertinently and steadily to the shoals on which nineteenth-century democratic optimism is now almost foundering.

And what of the prospects for this country? Four books have interpreted the issue in terms of the American scene. Walter Lippmann's *Inquiry into the Principles of the Good Society*<sup>129</sup> may be taken as the prototype of conservative thinking on the nature and functions of the state. He believes in the efficacy of private enterprise and initiative as the mainspring of social action and control, tempered by regulation through law rather than administrative agencies. The latter he finds only thinly masked forms of dictatorships; the former, a self-operating agency upon the wills, and

<sup>126</sup> New York: Norton, 1938.

<sup>127</sup> Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1937.

<sup>128</sup> Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1938.

<sup>129</sup> Boston: Little Brown, 1937.

the consciences, of men. Whatever one's opinions of the possibilities of maintaining the Good Society that he outlines through individual and group self-limitation, he has posed significant and inescapable questions if the inherent principles of the democratic state are to be implemented in tomorrow's government. *Democracy in Transition*<sup>130</sup> by a group of social scientists at Ohio State University may be considered an exposition of the liberal democratic tradition. They are concerned to point out the specific directions which social and economic as well as political reform should take to presume—and vitalize—the democratic idea. They propose an appointive National Advisory Council of from nine to fifteen members to act as a coordinating and review agency on policy and administration. Detached from political power or considerations, it could, they believe, mobilize opinion behind those programs of planning and control which would most effectively serve the general welfare. Their suggestions of policy are persuasive by reason of their moderation, but even these, if the New Deal era of reform is any indication, would find strong opposition among conservative "interests." George S. Counts' *The Prospects of American Democracy*<sup>131</sup> and Max Lerner's *It Is Later Than You Think*<sup>132</sup> belong to the progressive wing of democratic thought. Both authors are well known liberals who realize the intimate relations between economic security and political stability. Their arguments run closely parallel. Perhaps Professor Counts draws his evidence and his inferences from a wider scene, historical and comparative, but each relates his premises and his argument closely to the conditions for a truly democratic America. Both are lively and stimulating writers who challenge complacency and provoke the reader's own thinking about the problems they discuss. Neither finds in the status quo, in theory or in practice, an adequate defense of the demo-

cratic front at home. Both would follow Jefferson's dictum that each generation should rewrite its charter of liberties and duties. Each would write that charter for our time in terms of our economic system and a political order designed to utilize the nation's resources, human and material, for the common good rather than for individual and esoteric profit. What answer we give to the questions they pose and the proposals they suggest will determine the kind of government and country we shall pass on to the citizens of tomorrow.

The whole of the argument has been trenchantly summarized by Ordway Tead in *The Case for Democracy*.<sup>133</sup> Mr Tead identifies the democratic ideal with the Christian tradition of the value of human personality and projects the implications of the ideal for the economic and social as well as the political aspects of the Good Society. Were every student who graduates from our high schools to receive and read this little essay in the essence of the democratic way of life, the prospects of democracy for our times and our country would be measurably forwarded.

#### A TWO-FOOT BOOKSHELF FOR TWO YEARS

THE following books have been selected as a suggestion of those which, from the point of view of the information and the ideas they present, might prove the most useful for school library purchase. The starred volumes are those which I should recommend as the nucleus of a teacher's personal library—but opinions on values differ! They are those most stimulating in ideas.

#### AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

- Clark, J. P. *Rise of the New Federalism*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1938. \$3.50.  
 \*Corwin, E. S. *Court Over Constitution*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1938. \$2.50.  
 International City Managers Association. *Municipal Yearbook*. 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago, annually.  
 Johnson, A. W. *The Unicameral Legislature*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1938. \$2.00.  
 Lancaster, L. W. *Government in Rural America*. New York: Van Nostrand, 1937. \$2.85.

<sup>130</sup> New York: Appleton Century, 1937.

<sup>131</sup> New York: John Day, 1938.

<sup>132</sup> New York: Viking, 1938.

<sup>133</sup> New York: Association Press, 1938.

- Logan, E. B., ed. *The American Political Scene*. New York: Harper, 1938. \$1.50.
- Meriam, L., and Schmeckebier, L. F. *Reorganization of the National Government*. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1939.
- \*Mumford, L. *The Culture of Cities*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1938. \$5.00.
- Odegard, P. H., and Helms, E. A. *American Politics*. New York: Harper, 1938. \$3.50.
- Peel, R. V., ed. "Better City Government," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 199. Philadelphia, 1938. \$2.00 in paper. \$2.50 in cloth.
- \**Report of the Committee on Administrative Management in the Federal Services*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937.
- Salter, J. A., ed. *The American Politician*. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1938. \$3.50.
- White, L. D., and Smith, T. V. *Politics and Public Service*. New York: Harper, 1938.

#### GOVERNMENTS ABROAD

- \*Borgese, G. A. *Goliath*. New York: Viking, 1937. \$3.50.
- \*Childs, H. L. trans. *The Nazi Primer*. New York: Harper, 1938. \$1.75.
- Hitler, A. *Mein Kampf*. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1939. \$3.00.
- Laski, H. J. *Parliamentary Government in England*. New York: Viking, 1938. \$3.50.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

- Armstrong, H. F. *When There Is No Peace*. New York: Macmillan, 1939. \$1.75.
- Beals, C. *The Coming Struggle for Latin America*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1938. \$3.00.
- Chase, S. *The New Western Front*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1939.
- \*Davidson, F. P., and Viereck, G. S., eds. *Before America Decides*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1938. \$3.00.
- \*Eliot, G. F. *The Ramparts We Watch*. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1938. \$3.00.
- Fleming, D. F. *The United States and World Organization*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1938. \$4.00.
- Friedrich, C. J. *Foreign Policy in the Making*. New York: Norton, 1938. \$3.00.

- Mumford, L. *Men Must Act*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1939. \$1.50.
- Shepardson, W. H., and Scroggs, W. O. *The United States in World Affairs*. New York: Harper, annually. \$3.00.
- Streit, C. K. *Union Now*. New York: Harper, 1939. \$3.00.
- \*Thompson, D. *Refugees*. New York: Randon House, 1938. \$1.25.

#### THEORIES OF THE STATE

- \*Counts, G. S. *The Prospects of American Democracy*. New York: John Day, 1938. \$3.00.
- \*Haldane, J. B. S. *Heredity and Politics*. New York: Norton, 1938. \$2.50.
- \*Huxley, A. *Ends and Means*. New York: Harper, 1937. \$3.50.
- \*Lerner, M. *It Is Later than You Think*. New York: Viking, 1938. \$2.50.
- \*Lippmann, W. *Inquiry into the Principles of the Good Society*. Boston: Little Brown, 1937. \$2.25.
- Ohio State University. *Democracy in Transition*. New York: Appleton Century, 1937. \$2.50.
- Sabine, G. H. *A History of Political Theory*. New York: Holt, 1937. \$4.00.
- \*Tead, O. *The Case for Democracy*. New York: Association Press, 1938. \$1.25.

#### CORRECTION

On page 257 of the April issue the name of an author was misspelled. Copy should read: *The Administration of Federal Grants to the States* [Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1937] by Valdimer O. Key, Jr, is a detailed description of one device by which integration of standards and practices between the two levels has been achieved. It is the best study of this administrative technique which has so far appeared.



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# Have You Read?

KATHARINE ELIZABETH CRANE

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THE uselessness of good intentions unaccompanied by other virtues is so well known that the name of the place paved with them is designated by a common proverb, but how about all the other virtues unaccompanied by intelligence? Is their uselessness equally well known? On the contrary, it has, I think, escaped adequate attention that of all the human virtues intelligence is, perhaps, the most important. One could almost say that usually intelligence is hardly counted as a virtue at all. Certainly it is seldom mentioned in any list of human virtues—faith, hope, charity, or kindness, truth, justice, courage, honesty—the lists do not end there, of course, but at what point do you expect them to include intelligence?

Nevertheless, as teachers and learners of the way of life, we owe it to society to be intelligent perhaps more than we owe it to society to be anything else. If it is our moral duty to be kind, then surely it is our moral duty to use our wits to find out what action would actually be kind in the particular circumstances before us. If we want our own country to be upright and just, we must come to some conclusions concerning what constitutes honor and justice in this particular situation. Equally, if our conception of morality leads us to wish that our country come out on top at any cost, we must give intelligent thought to the question of what constitutes “coming out on top.” Especially is this true of national decisions, since a population survives many centuries, and the longer view is the only possible view to be taken of a country’s welfare.

Even in our own immediate experience, there is so little unmixed good, and probably as little unmixed bad, that it is always difficult to separate one from the other in our own minds and to come to any conclusions that seem just, or even in the main satisfactory to ourselves. This is still more true of the larger world. The conflict of national and international interests, of good and bad, of wise and foolish, is so confusing that we are tempted to give up in bewilderment and to decide that, since the immediate decision in no way lies in our hands, we can shut out of our minds the whole distressing business.

SUCH a course must be disastrous to ourselves and to our common life, for the wisest and best national morality must rest on a broad base of common understanding. If we are going to lay claim to the possession of any public morality, we must apply our best intelligence to the question of what we ourselves, within the frame of our own limitations, believe constitutes public morality. In the field of government and international relations that means, I think, that we must make up our minds on the basis of a suitable array of facts, some consideration of various opinions on those facts, and whatever out of our own training or experience can be brought to bear on the question at hand. Some of this is to be obtained from the periodical literature of popular and semi-popular magazines here and elsewhere represented, but with it all must be mixed an adequate measure of thought and intelligence.

NOW in no sense am I arguing that your decision and my decision, or the decision of all those immediately concerned with us, will change or even modify present commitments in our common life and government. Nor am I arguing that we "must make up our minds" in the sense that we must come to an opinion in whose validity we ourselves trust completely. Quite on the contrary I recognize the value of "suspended judgment." Indeed I would say that most of human life should probably be lived on the basis of what is a kind of "suspended judgment." Over and over again in our own lives the time comes to act before we can possibly believe that we know what we ought to do. We act and often "act with decision" on the basis of a decision that we ourselves distrust profoundly. How can any adult look back on his own lifetime and fail to recognize that his own opinions and judgments have often been entirely mistaken? Recognizing that, how can we escape the realization that our present opinions must be equally fallible?

However I do not doubt that in the long run a population whose interest is absorbed in any field of activity will produce the kind of genius to excel in that field of activity. We certainly believe, for instance, that musical accomplishment emerges from a people absorbed in playing the flute here, the violin there, singing songs, and dancing up and down the countryside to country-made music. So too we must believe that a nation devoting its people's best intelligence to the questions and details of government and world affairs will find itself blessed with leaders and thinkers who can produce adequate solutions to the problems of government and world relations.

PERHAPS it is with some such conviction as this that various current periodicals have continued to devote part of their space to discussion by cooperative effort of various shades of opinion throughout the country and to trying to develop new methods for such discussion. A new under-

taking for doing this is the *Fortune* "Round Table" department which in the March issue considers "The Effects of Government Spending upon Private Enterprise" and reveals some surprising agreements among eleven men usually regarded as poles apart in their opinion as to whether government spending will revive prosperity or whether it is a great obstacle to recovery. With all the hesitation appropriate to any such hasty summing up of a whole discussion I should say that on the whole the opinion there represented agrees that public spending is a legitimate instrument for balancing the inequalities of the business cycle but that over a period of time the national budget ought to be balanced and that government money ought to be "invested" in such ways as to stimulate productive opportunity rather than "spent" merely to create purchasing power.

The April *Forum* contains a similar discussion by only two contributors, "Government Spending: Success or Failure" with David Cushman Coyle arguing on the success side and J. George Frederick not so sure.

AS an indication that some observers believe that in the United States we are peculiarly aware of the common responsibility to be intelligent on questions of governmental importance, may I quote "On Judging America" by Charles Pergler in the Spring issue of the *North American Review*? The author, a former Czechoslovakian ambassador to Japan, secretary to Masaryk, and member of the Czech Parliament, is in a position to have an opinion, and he thinks that in the United States the questions of international affairs are studied "more extensively and intensively than anywhere else. . . . The foreign services of the American press are much more ample than what we see on the Continent and immensely more impartial." In this connection he even has a good word to say for our much abused American press. "On the political side the difference between the Continental and the

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American press, with a few exceptions, is this: America has newspapers, Continental Europe party organs. Even the most vigorous partisan paper in the United States does not dare to suppress completely a pronouncement of an important government official belonging to another political faith." Across the Atlantic that frequently happens.

#### DIGRESSION

**S**TRICTLY as a digression I want to quote some of what the same writer says on education. "The American educational system has its defects, and I am not sure that it has not gone rather wild in regard to so-called credits and requirements, but speaking generally, in more ways than one, it is more exacting than what we find on the Continent." He points out that among the ordinary requirements here for the degree of doctor of philosophy are an undergraduate college degree, reading knowledge of at least two foreign languages, evidence of capacity to do independent research as shown by "what is known as a dissertation." "In central Europe graduation from a *gymnasium*, about equal to the American junior college, entitles one to admission to a university and candidacy for a doctor's degree, an ability to undertake original research work comes into question only when one possessing a doctor's degree seeks to prepare himself for a university career. The European degree of doctor of laws (J.U.D.) is in fact about equal to the American Bachelor of Laws degree, and the examinations and attendance requirements are much less rigid."

With some humor he tells the story of how an American arrived in Europe to obtain a Ph.D. degree there and, surprised at the meagreness of the offering in a noted European university, spoke of his disappointment and said that even his own little American undergraduate college offered more opportunity in the field. The distinguished Czech, who had long been completely aware of the possible disappointments of this kind, answered, in perfect American idiom, "You're telling me?"

#### CONTRARIWISE

**H**AVING urged, by implication, that we all busy ourself in reading, studying, thinking, and expressing ourselves on public concerns I want to call your attention to two articles in the April number of *Scribners'* which may have the entirely contrary effect of making you shrink from our modern publicity and what we do with it. In reading them both almost side by side, I wondered whether we as a people might not understand more if we were not so eager to know so much about so many details that really hardly concern us.

This is, you understand, no argument for any kind of an official censorship. I do not even offer it as my own settled opinion, but I wonder whether it may not be possible and desirable to avoid the development of the common interest in public and semi-public characters and trivialities which makes candid camera man a downright pest—as is very well illustrated by the pictures and text of the article on "Surrender of Privacy" by Meyer Berger. Certainly our interest of this kind lays us open to the necessity of giving a good deal of weight in public affairs to the individual who possesses the knack of "public relation," or can buy it.

The other *Scribners'* article is "The Government Publicity Machine" by C. R. Walker, "an analysis of Federal press-agentry . . . the cost and technique of selling the New Deal to 130,000,000 Americans. . . . How it compares with totalitarian propaganda." Counting out the totalitarian states, "the United States Government now runs the largest machine for informing and persuading public opinion in the world." It is true that "in bulk Government publicity [defined as "information, education, and propaganda"] has always been large, but the New Deal has trebled it. . . . More and more it is sent free by the Post Office. The cost of mailing under the franking privilege according to Mr. Farley's figures has jumped from \$10,000,000 a year to \$35,000,000 since 1933."

Another current article makes one stop to



consider this whole question of publicity and world affairs in still another light. "A Fake that Rocked the World: An Authentic Story of Four Reporters Who Had to Make News" by Harry Lee Wilber in the Spring *North American Review* tells the hair-brained story of how the match to touch off the "Boxer Rebellion" in China was a canard that the sacred Wall of China was to be razed by American engineers and the country thrown open to the hated foreigners. The canard was made up out of whole cloth and printed in four newspapers at Denver, Colorado, copied widely, and finally exported to China where it fanned the flames of the already smoldering "Boxer" protest and led to the massacre, war, and reprisal of which we all know.

#### GERMAN CONTROL?

**T**HROUGHOUT the world, events crowd each other hard: a new Pope, a new flag in Spain, the disappearance of Czechoslovakia, the economic absorption of Rumania, and today the Western World seems to be gathering itself together to make its stand on the far frontiers of Poland. Or does it? Or will it be indeed a stand? By the time you read this magazine that particular phase of the question will be answered, and everyone will know what today lies completely hidden in the future. Nevertheless on that future day there will be other equally pressing problems to be considered, and they will be based on past problems and past events.

Perhaps in the last analysis it is the internal situation of Germany that will be the determining factor in the world's decision for war or peace—a nice decision as to whether there is an amount of stress and strain that will make victory impossible or whether only an amount that will make war against an outside enemy seem to be a feasible instrument of internal control. We can not expect to know the entire situation. Moreover the balance will be weighed and the decision will be taken by a dictator who may be insanely reckless.

Discussing the disaffected portions, capitalist and labor, of the German population in "Brown Bolshevism" in the April *Atlantic*, Frank C. Hanighen says that "inside Germany a revolution has been going on. It is a red revolution."

In the Spring issue of the *American Scholar* Heinz Guradze discusses the plight of German labor and "German Labor in Zenith and Eclipse," of how on May 1, 1933, "German labor had attended its own burial."

To the April *Foreign Affairs* Graham Hutton contributes an examination of "German Economic Tension: Causes and Results." "For six years the Third Reich has been an economist's laboratory. The experiments were neither decided by economists nor conducted under their control; but it was possible for economists all over the world to observe their unfolding at a breakneck pace. Now these experiments have ended in an economic reverse, from which the only way out apparently leads straight into a Bolshevik economic system."

More factual and less concerned with pronouncements for the past and the future is a consideration of the "Nazi Financial Troubles" by Sidney B. Fay in *Events* for April. He points out that "German economic conditions since the beginning of 1939 have on the whole undergone a further change for the worse." The total tax burden "including Reich, State and municipal taxes, has more than doubled under Nazi rule." The government's need of money is enormous for armaments, highways, building programs in many of the cities, salaries and expenses of regular government services, and for some two million party members and officials. As for the export-import balance, on which depends her ability in the long run to buy absolutely necessary supplies, the picture is equally gloomy.

**G**ERMANY about to collapse? Quite on the contrary, John C. deWilde, discussing "Germany's Controlled Economy"



in *Foreign Policy Reports* for March 1, thinks that "despite signs of growing stress and strain, the German economy has continued to function at a high rate of activity during the last few years. Confounding the prophets of collapse, industrial output and employment have risen far above pre-depression levels. . . . The government is experiencing serious difficulty in finding enough labor for all the tasks it has undertaken. . . . The Nazis have kept the Germans hard at work, but only at the expense of regimented consumption and the loss of individual freedom and enterprise."

LEST, however, you get to thinking that such prosperity is cheap at the price, you might remind yourself of one little aspect of the cost and the pain by reading Irving B. Pflaum's "Balkan Mantrap" in the April *Forum*. "The Germans marched into Czecho-Slovakia, and . . . the lines were closed, and inside the trap, unprotected and waiting, were ten thousand new, ten thousand old, and a million potential victims." Without visas, some of them without passports, all of them without legal right of residence, although they have committed no crime for which they suffer deprivation, those thousands of victims are harried and driven from country to country in a terrible merry-go-round until death intervenes at last by privation, exposure, shooting by frontier guards, or suicide. "About half the wanderers are in jail on any given date, awaiting deportation, while the others are in transit."

#### VERSUS GERMANY?

ANOTHER important factor in this great decision of war and peace is of course the British Empire, and its responsible leaders. The March issue of the *Round Table*, a British quarterly devoted to the politics of the Commonwealth, considers "The British Commonwealth After Munich" and believes that "at no moment could a potential enemy have been led honestly to believe in an imminent split in

the Commonwealth. . . . Yet the citizens of the Dominion also shared fully with the people of the United Kingdom their sense of shame at having failed the hopes of a small nation. . . . With one possible exception, in all the Dominions there was in the week ended September 28 a widespread acceptance of the inevitability of war."

Australia's greater willingness actively to support the empire is discussed by Jack Shepherd in "Empire Versus Far East in Australia's Economy," in the *Far Eastern Survey* for March 29. "World events thus seem to have changed the whole economic outlook for Australia, particularly during the past two or three years. Whereas early in the present decade complementary needs seemed to be drawing Australia into the economic orbit of Japan as ties with Britain grew weaker, that tendency has now been reversed."

"America Stands with the Democracies," also in the March *Round Table*, rejoices in President Roosevelt's attitude, though it sees that he can not "actually guarantee that the American people will follow him," and comforts itself that "he can construct a policy, and is so doing, that would make it very difficult for the United States to do anything else." Are we willing this shall happen?

Americans may be interested in those parts of "Sussex Nightmare: an American Watches England Awaken to the Foreboding of Disaster" by Eugene and Arline Lohrke, in the Spring *North American Review*, which emphasize Britain's ability to impose her will on our diplomats abroad. "Looking around us again with considerable astonishment, we saw that it was as easy for the Tory Government of England to take an American ambassador in tow as it had ever been at any time when England deemed this advisable. It was . . . useless to expect an American ambassador to represent America once he alighted in London. . . . But certainly it was delightful to be the center of bustling events, to have heraldic doors flung open, to enter those

inner sanctums which have figured so widely in fiction, to have a red carpet of flattery flung down from one's doorstep right into Downing Street or Buckingham Palace itself."

Perhaps American diplomats ought to make up their minds that their principal duty is not the cultivation of popularity within the countries to which they are accredited. It is quite possible to serve their country well even though unpopular, and at times it is impossible both to serve their country and to be popular. It ought to be remembered that Charles Francis Adams, whose services as minister to Great Britain during our Civil War were perhaps the most notable in our history, was so unpopular in London that he and his family even dreaded to appear at public functions.

The blindness of European diplomats is discussed by Charles Pergler in the article from the *North American Review* that I quoted earlier. He says that the frequent reproaches that "America repudiated" the treaties of 1919 are due entirely to ignorance of the fact that our Constitution provides that the concurrence of the Senate is necessary, and he has little sympathy for that kind of ignorance on the part of the responsible negotiators or with that kind of criticism of the United States. He says also that such mistakes as, for instance, those concerning the so-called war debts are due to fact that "the great body of American taxpayers was never thought of . . . that dinner table talk in Washington seldom, if ever, conveys a true picture of the state of the American collective mind."

#### WHAT DO WE MEAN TO DO?

**W**HAT then is there for us to do about it? What are our own national desires and national needs in these matters? What in plain terms are we willing to fight for? Canada, probably, for one thing. And she for us in some, though not in all, circumstances. As far as that is concerned it is obvious that Canada has her doubts even about helping Britain in all circumstances,

and her preparations for her own defense in case of war as amazingly sketchy, with a navy of six destroyers, an air force of fewer than three hundred planes, and an army of four thousand soldiers. In a recent speech to the Canadian Parliament the Prime Minister—an avowed isolationist—indicated a certain willingness to support Great Britain in case of war, but his words were hardly strong enough to settle all questions of the future. David Martin, however, in "The King Comes to Canada" in the *Nation* for March 11 takes some of his space to discuss Canadian reluctance to support the British Empire in all its undertakings. "What has caused Canada to stray so far from the orbit of British influence?" His answer is that the United States, owing to "its nearness and mass," exerts a great drawing power. "Culturally and economically, as well as geographically, Canada stands far closer to the United States than to Britain." Figures of foreign capital invested in Canada, Canadian capital invested abroad, exports, and imports, all indicate that "economically the two countries really constitute a single natural unit," and "these figures provide the real sinews of collaboration in international affairs."

It is not surprising then to remember that at a recent opening of an international bridge the President of the United States and the Premier of Canada each expressed in no uncertain terms his country's obligations for mutual defense, that the two countries have entered into close military collaboration for the defense of the Pacific coast and have agreed to the construction of a military highway running all along the coast to Alaska, and that the new air bases along the British Columbia coast form part of a chain stretching from California out into the Aleutian Islands.

"For the time being Britain and the United States appear to be on tolerably friendly terms." But "the interests of Britain and America clash at many points and the future of their relations is largely contingent on British policy in Europe and

Asia. Britain's passivity before the conquest of Manchuria, its role in restraining France, its naval agreement with Germany, its complicity in the rape of Austria and Czechoslovakia—all these events point in the direction of continued British collaboration with the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis. And as long as Britain travels along this road the possibility of lasting friendship with the United States will seem slim."

So then Mr Martin is not sure that the King's coming will work the miracle of "persuading Canada to come back home to the empire." He thinks that it "may improve" the situation, but even this is "contingent to a large extent upon the results of his American visit." The question really is "Will Britain adjust its foreign policy to jibe with the material interests of the United States? The answer lies with the gods and Chamberlain."

ON the other hand in the war that seems to many observers to be inescapable there will be no fighting over Canada. Therefore the question of what we are going to do remains, and opinions differ concerning the possibility of staying out of war, as well as concerning the proper policy of preparation and defense in case of war. In the April issue of *Events* Alvin Adey is sure that "America Must Keep Out of War," and D. F. Fleming that "America Cannot Stand Aloof." In the April *Harpers* in "No More Excursions," C. Hartley Grattan says that "The Defense of Democracy Begins at Home," and "to say that the moral issues are clearer to-day than in 1917 is fantastic. In truth they are more confused than ever before." In the same magazine "Wanted: A Sane Defense Policy" by Oswald Garrison Villard takes up the vexed question of defense, but "what will it avail us to arm to the utmost limit, to subordinate our national and industrial life to preparations for war, if thereby we lose our democratic soul—that soul we are supposed to preserve by pouring out armament expenditures without end?"

CHARLES A. BEARD contributes "We're Blundering Into War" to the *American Mercury* for April, and in no uncertain terms denounces current efforts to carry us into war. He points out that our national councils are always a little befogged because so many "resident foreigners" treat the United States "as a boarding-house, not as a permanent home of a people engaged in trying to make a civilization in their own land. These foreigners in letter or spirit are actuated by emotional interests in co-nationals in other countries and yet look with contempt upon Americans whose primary affections are attached to ties of their own." He pays his respects to the "British-born American" who urges "the duty of the United States to join Britain in saving democracy in Europe," and also to the "American of German or Italian origin" who "oppose telling Germany and Italy that the Monroe Doctrine applies to them."

"When an American of whatever national strain refuses to have anything to do with either of these crowds and insists upon protecting the American sphere of interests against all alien intervention and upholding democracy here, he is condemned by members of the boardinghouse and home-grown missionaries as ignoble, narrow, and greedy."

As for the "democratic" countries helping themselves, he points out that "the countries threatened by Germany and Italy outnumber them in population by at least three to one. For every soldier that Germany and Italy can put in the field, they can put three or more. These menaced nations far outstrip the two foes in wealth, natural resources, metals, and war materials of every kind. They have command of the seas and can impose an iron blockade on Germany and Italy." His figures that include the men and materials of the respective empires are even more impressive. "These are the helpless pygmies that must be saved from the menacing Leviathans by the blood and treasure of the United States. Here is the American responsibility!"



The reason the "democratic" countries do not present a united front is, he thinks, that "other hopes, fears, and designs enter into their designs," specifically the quarrel between Italy and France which "is openly . . . a quarrel over imperial spoils" and the aim of the British Tory government, which, he suspects, is "to let Hitler liquidate Soviet Russia."

In his opinion "the United States should and can stay out of the next war in Europe and the wars that follow the next war. The countries immediately and directly concerned have the power to prevent German and Italian domination if they want to do it. If they do not want to do it, then it is certainly not the business of the United States to take over the job." (If you want to read the whole article, a single copy is 25 cents, 570 Lexington Avenue, New York City.)

A TYPICAL and eloquent example of the opposing point of view is that of a European, Edward Benes, former president of Czechoslovakia and now teaching at the University of Chicago, who said over the radio on March 18: "Don't forget that it is not only Europe that is involved, not only Central, South, and Eastern European nations, the French nation, the British nation, the Scandinavian nations, the people of the United States, but the whole world that is in danger, not only from war but from the destruction of every high concept of human morality, by the demolition of every fine concept of liberty, by the disintegration of every concept of honesty and decency. That is the danger today. A society which continues to tolerate such a state of things will be destroyed and will disappear" (quoted from the February issue of the *Alumni Bulletin* of the University of Chicago).

MORE hopeful in expression in "C's" answer in the April *Foreign Affairs* to the surprising question "Will Hitler Save Democracy?" "Fundamentally, Fascist

dictatorship fights Communism as a competitor, but its chief aim is the destruction of democracy, for that is its deadly enemy." Yet "it is one of the most interesting phenomena of Hitler's political activity that it has resulted in bringing about so soon such an overwhelming and unprecedented manifestation of defensive solidarity amongst the democratic peoples. It was their divisions and the defeatism of their leaders which made Hitler supreme. Woodrow Wilson tried to unite the postwar world in an idealism for which it was not yet ripe. It would be the height of paradox if Hitler, of all persons, were destined by his statesmanship finally 'to make the world safe for Democracy'."

MANY careful observers believe that our greatest danger lies in the victory of some kind of fascist control of our own political and economic government—that, if we declare war, by the very act we shall destroy our only hope of a democratic way of national life, and, if we withdraw ourselves successfully from the world's common life, we shall devote our peace and prosperity to concentrating the lines of wealth and control into fewer and fewer hands until in the end we have destroyed all hope of realizing a democratic way of life within the present frame of government.

If you poohpooh this possibility in your own mind, just read such an article as "American Reactionary Forces" by Fred A. Shannon in the April *Events*. You may not agree with every statement of fact. I confess I did not. And you may not agree with every implication of importance. As for the details with which we disagree, may I say that those may be the cases in which we ourselves are biased, as we all are in certain aspects of our thought, or they may be the cases in which we are just plain wrong. Yet, even granting us all the exceptions we each consider necessary in the interests of accuracy, the general array is beyond dispute, and it is far past poohpoohing.

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## NOTES AND NEWS

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### NATIONAL COUNCIL

*San Francisco meeting.* The program for the San Francisco meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies, to be held on July 3 in conjunction with the NEA, includes a survey of "Progress to Date in Curriculum Improvement in the Social Studies." Attention will be given to (1) our increased knowledge of boys and girls and their growth and development, together with the related guidance function of the social studies; (2) the building of social studies courses to meet pupil needs; and (3) improvements in classroom teaching and enrichment materials. A second theme will be "Problems Ahead," specifically (1) vitalizing the study of American life and institutions; (2) the development of citizenship as a school-wide problem, with special reference to student government; and (3) community relations and resources in the social studies curriculum.

Reservations, at \$1.50 per person, for the luncheon on July 3 at the Empire Hotel, and requests for further details, should be addressed to W. A. Wieland, George Washington High School, San Francisco.

*Kansas City meeting.* Plans are well under way for the annual meeting at Kansas City, Missouri, on December 1-2. The members of the local committee are Guy V. Price, chairman; J. N. Jordan, C. R. Coombe, J. S. McKee, Anna M. Thompson, Mildred Setton, Mary L. Latshaw, and Rose Wickey of the Kansas City public schools; Father J. J. Murphy of the Diocesan schools; Amos L. Burks of the Junior College; Iden Reese of the Kansas City, Kansas, Junior College; and M. B. Miller of Independence. The Hotel Muehlebach has been selected as headquarters.

The program is in the charge of Howard R. Anderson, first vice-president.

### NATIONAL COUNCIL SPEAKERS

Under the leadership of Roy A. Price of Syracuse University, chairman of the Public Relations Committee, the National Council is aiding in making speakers available for regional and local groups. Fremont P. Wirth of George Peabody College for Teachers has recently spoken in Charleston, South Carolina, in Louisville, Kentucky, and in Fort Wayne, Indiana; Howard R. Anderson in Omaha and in Iowa City; and Erling M. Hunt in Madison and Eau Claire, Wisconsin, and in Minnesota, Missouri, and Tennessee.

Dr Price will be glad to receive requests or suggestions for the fall or next school year.

### NEW YORK CITY

The Association of Teachers of Social Studies will meet at the Worlds Fair on Saturday, May 30. Following a tour of selected areas, beginning at 9:30, the fourth annual luncheon will be held. Luncheon reservations at two dollars each may be sent to Edward W. Cohen, Samuel J. Tilden High School, Brooklyn.

### NEW JERSEY

Social Studies Teachers of the State enjoyed three regional meetings held during the winter months at State Teachers College. The general theme was adaptation to the spirit and practice of democracy.

"The Fusion of Social Studies in the Secondary School" was the theme of the meeting for the Central District held at Trenton on January 28. John Owen, Hamilton Township, was chairman. Greetings from the state organization were brought by E. Schuyler Palmer of Montclair, president of the New Jersey Association of Teachers of Social Studies. George Robinson of New Brunswick talked on "The Benefits of a Fusion of Social Studies in

Secondary Schools"; Miss Hedwig Michalska of Mt Holly and Mrs Ruth Kneeshaw of Trenton discussed "The Dangers Attendant in Such a Fusion"; and Edwin Barton of Elizabeth summarized the discussion. At luncheon a discussion took place on the question of fusion. Opinions were varied and spontaneous.

Robert P. Rensch of Bridgeton presided at the meeting for the southern district held on February 18 at Glassboro. "Democracy at Work in Our Schools" was the theme. Edgar F. Bunce, president of Glassboro State Teachers College welcomed the members. Malcolm M. Steck of Woodrow Wilson High School, Camden, William K. Schwab of Atlantic City, Miss Esther Brown of Woodbury, and E. E. Halleran of Ocean City made presentations representing the secondary schools of various size throughout the southern counties. The elementary point of view was offered by Miss Nella H. Cole, helping teacher of Cumberland County. The lay point of view was presented by Harold Bebee of Pitman, a member of the Public Relations Committee of the Kiwanis Club. E. Schuyler Palmer brought us the greetings of the state organization. The luncheon meeting was under the chairmanship of Justin H. Hess of Atlantic City. Chester Robbins, superintendent of Cumberland County, made the luncheon address.

At Montclair, scene of the northern district meeting on March 11, the theme was "The Social Studies in a Democracy." John T. Greenan of East Orange presided. Harry A. Sprague, president of the State Teachers' College at Montclair, welcomed the group. Kenneth D. Hart of West New York addressed the group on "Teaching Problems of State Government of New Jersey." J. Madison Gathany of East Orange talked on the topic "How I Teach World History." William M. Barr of Milburn, whose address was entitled "The Forum of Democracy," described very interestingly a forum project being successfully worked out in the Milburn High School. In an address entitled, "A New Responsibility for the Social Studies," Lawrence S. Chase, superintendent of Essex County, offered new challenges to social studies teachers and made pointed comments concerning philosophy and procedure in our branch of education. At luncheon E. Schuyler Palmer of Montclair, president of the Association, presided. Later

a teaching demonstration was conducted by T. Gra Gaston of Mt Hebron Junior High School, Montclair. Mr Gaston led his ninth grade class through a lesson in the meaning of liberty.

Members of the Association are now looking forward to the annual meeting in New Brunswick to be held on May 6. J. H. H.

### PENNSYLVANIA

A Social Studies Conference for the Clarion State Teachers College service area met April 1, in Clarion, under the direction of Dr Ralph Cordier. At the morning session Dr LeRoy King of the University of Pennsylvania spoke on the problems of financing public education in Pennsylvania. Following the morning session a panel discussion took up the problem of the changing curriculum.

In the general session on Saturday afternoon, Dr Howard Anderson of Cornell University spoke on the "Role of Social Studies in a Democracy." Dr Anderson said it was the duty of social studies teachers to give pupils the related information about democracy, the characteristics of democracy, the struggles through history which brought about the development of democracy, realistic pictures of what democracy has achieved and a vision of the goal to be achieved.

The second address was delivered by Dr Andrew Cordier of Manchester College, Indiana, whose subject was "Storm Clouds over Europe."

A discussion of the various types of tests used in social studies was given in the panel. Dr Howard Anderson, co-author of the Iowa Every-pupil Tests, said that to test effectively we must realize the goals of instruction: knowledge, skills, attitudes, and qualities. Mr Howard Schilling pointed out that in making tests it was important to eliminate chance, use vocabulary at the child's level and eliminate ambiguity. Miss Stella Sprague's summary mentioned reasons for test failures.

A most interesting panel was that entitled "Education versus Propaganda." Mr James R. Ramsey opened the discussion by defining the terms education and propaganda. Dr Andrew Cordier discussed techniques noting contrasts between our complex society and the more or less simple society of a few years ago. R. W. C.



## FLORIDA

During the annual meeting of the Florida Education Association in Tampa, the Social Studies Division and the State Council of Geography Teachers held a joint meeting on Friday, March 17. Mr Charles Durrance, Jr of Orlando, acting chairman of the social studies group, presided.

The program included "Strengthening the Social Studies Program" by Dr Walter E. Myer, editor of the *American Observer*; "Recommendations from the Curriculum Committee" by Dr W. T. Edwards, University of Florida; and "Correlation of History from the Cultural Viewpoint" by J. D. Glunt, University of Florida.

The new officers elected for 1939-40 are Henry Claywell, Tampa, chairman; J. H. Matteson, Miami, vice chairman; and Dena Snodgrass, Orlando, secretary.

The record attendance was reflected in the large number of teachers who were present at the meeting of the social studies teachers. As yet this group is simply a division of the state education association and no separate organization sponsoring programs and interests peculiar to the social studies teachers has seemed feasible. It is possible that some attempt to begin such state council of social studies teachers may be undertaken in 1939-40.

F. R. T.

## MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

The Teachers' Section of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held a round table discussion on "Enriching the High School Social Studies Curriculum" at Memphis, Tennessee, on April 22. Fremont P. Wirth of the George Peabody College for Teachers presided. Burr W. Phillips of the University of Wisconsin discussed "History as a Functional Study." E. F. Hartford of Louisville, Kentucky, described "The Regional Approach in Teaching American History." W. Francis English of Carrollton, Missouri, considered "International Relations in the High School." Chester M. Destler of the South Georgia Teachers College surveyed "Southern Community Resources for the Social Studies."

## CHICAGO

The Chicago Council for the Social Studies held a meeting on March 20. The guest speaker

was John A. Bartky, president of the Chicago Teachers College. He spoke on "Training Future Teachers for Vital Citizenship." A lively general discussion followed.

Miss Mary Balcomb, Harrison High School, is the new president and Miss Eunice Peters, Lake View High School, is secretary. G. F.

## MINNESOTA

The Second Annual Social Studies Conference sponsored by the University of Minnesota was held at the University on March 24-25, under the chairmanship of Professor E. B. Wesley. One session was devoted to an exchange of "most successful experiences in teaching." Erling M. Hunt addressed a luncheon session on "Social Studies Teaching—Profession or Job?", summarizing newer responsibilities of teachers, rising professional standards, and the need of such professional services as the National Council is trying to render.

A third session considered social and economic topics. Professor Lowry Nelson analyzed "Some Social Aspects of the Farm Security Program," with attention to underprivileged agricultural areas and tenantry. F. R. Forsythe described his procedure in a very careful survey of a rural community. Professor Emerson P. Schmitt discussed "Spending for Recovery," demonstrating that pump priming was closely reflected in business indexes but that its basic purpose—restoring private enterprise—had failed.

One Saturday session was given over to the Minnesota experimental curriculum. Professor A. C. Krey gave a general overview, while Horace T. Morse and Miss Alma Jensen described it in operation. At the final session, for which the topic was "Next Steps," the speakers were Miss Ella Hawkinson of Moorhead, Erling M. Hunt, and John G. Rockwell, Commissioner of Education. G. E.

Under the auspices of the National Council for the Social Studies, and through arrangements made by E. B. Wesley, regional chairman of the Council's Committee on Public Relations, Erling M. Hunt addressed the Master Teachers' Association of St Paul on March 23 on the subject of "Our Restless Curriculum." He also spoke to meetings of teachers, administrators, and students in Winona,

Duluth, Bemidji, and Moorhead, and in Fargo, North Dakota.

### TENNESSEE

The History and Social Science Section of the Tennessee Education Association met in Nashville on April 7-8, under the chairmanship of John A. Hood of the East Nashville High School. Erling M. Hunt spoke on "New Responsibilities—How Fast and How Far?" R. W. Johnson of the State Teachers College, Memphis, traced "The Evolution of Geography for the Past Half Century." H. A. Coleman of the George Peabody College for Teachers dealt with "Current Events—the Classroom Bogey-Bear." William McGovern of Northwestern University presented "China and Japan—a Study of Contrasts." William Atkisson described an integration experiment. Dorman C. Stout of the East Tennessee Teachers College analyzed "Attitudes of Tennessee High School Seniors toward the Church, the Home, and the Law." L. G. Derthick spoke on "Social Sciences—the Hub of the Curriculum."

Dr Hunt also spoke before the Administrative Section on "Better Teaching—and the Administrators Behind It," and Dr Wirth and Dr Hunt spoke before the Negro Social Studies Section at the Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State College.

### MISSOURI

The Missouri Council for the Social Studies met at Columbia in conjunction with the conference on consumer education, noted below. On April 4 a luncheon session was held. Mr G. H. V. Melone of the John Burroughs School, president, introduced Erling M. Hunt and Howard E. Wilson; Dr Wilson led a discussion of social studies problems.

At a dinner meeting of the Kansas City (Missouri) Council for the Social Studies on April 5, at which J. N. Jordan presided, Erling M. Hunt discussed "Facing New Responsibilities." Mr Jordan outlined plans for the National Council meeting in December.

### ARKANSAS

The first two bulletins of the Arkansas Council for the Social Studies have been released. The first was devoted to a description of the work of the Arkansas Council and the

National Council. It contained one article on the use of community resources and reports of school practices in Wilson and Paris, Arkansas, schools. The second is devoted chiefly to evaluation of outcomes in social studies instruction. It also includes announcements of summer session courses in various Arkansas colleges.

The officers are Henry Kronenberg, Fayetteville, president; Jerry Patterson, Pine Bluff, vice-president; and Louise Porter, North Little Rock, secretary-treasurer.

### CONSUMER EDUCATION CONFERENCE

A conference on education for the consumer was held at Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri, on April 3-5, under the joint sponsorship of the College and the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation for Economic Research and Education. A large number of speakers including W. W. Charters, Howard E. Wilson, D. E. Montgomery of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Henry Harap, Harold F. Clark, Malcolm MacLean, and Stacy May discussed consumer problems, teaching materials, and the role of education. The proceedings are to be published.

### STUDENT OFFICERS AND ADVISERS

The ninth annual convention of student leaders and faculty advisers of school government organizations, conducted jointly by the National Association of Student Officers and the National Conference on Student Participation, will occur July 3-6, at San Francisco. The program is designed to emphasize the inter-relationship of student government and education in responsible citizenship.

### USE OF RESOURCES

"Educational Use of Resources" is the subject of the March issue of *Progressive Education*. The value of well planned trips is illustrated in Leila V. Stott's "Use of City Resources in the City and Country School, New York City." William Fellowes Morgan, Jr, commissioner of markets, describes "Food Distribution in the City of New York"—an article of as much interest to teachers and pupils of the country, small towns, and other cities as to those in New York. John McKenzie, docks commissioner, writes of "New York City as the

Gateway of Commerce in America," giving some impressive statistics.

George Beecher surveys "Local Resources for the Sciences and Social Studies," while Helen M. Strong deals with "Soil, Water, and Forest in Life and Education."

Other articles concern the film "The River," local cultural resources, the use of community resources on an Indian reservation, the radio, and "Your Town," a radio program devoted to the description of New York City.

### EDUCATIONAL METHOD—COMMUNITY ISSUE

The March issue of *Educational Method* is concerned with "Teacher and Community." Lloyd A. Cook analyzes "The Meaning of Community"; Willia A. Girault and Stewart T. Walton recount how "We Gave Them Experience" in West High School, Denver; and William Van Til describes how "Youth Visits Industrial Detroit." "The Core Studies and Community Activities" are discussed by Miles E. Cary; "A School Survey of Personal Resources" is described by Miriam Sutherland; and "Students Make a Recreational Survey" is contributed by Florence S. Harper.

### PEACE EDUCATION

The theme of the March issue of *The Journal of Educational Sociology* is "Which Way Peace Education?" In the editorial introduction Francis J. Brown remarks that "the authors of these articles firmly believe that peace is yet possible, at least for the Americas, and that it may become a reality only as individuals honestly believe that it is worth living for, that it is based upon culture rather than politics, and that its foundation is laid in the deep appreciation of one's fellow men."

Dr Brown also contributes "Pacifism in Transition," reviewing recent armament costs, our efforts during the post-war years to achieve collective security, the role of the press and the radio, of religion, the schools, and peace organizations.

Other articles are "Youth and Peace," by Fay Bennett; "The 'Movie' as an Agency for Peace or War"; and "Peace and Intercultural Education," by Rachel Davis-Dubois, "Literature and Democracy" by Eric Estorick, which discusses literature of protest, and "A World Synod of Music" by Robert Braun.

### FILMS

"Audio-Film Libraries, 661 Bloomfield Avenue, Bloomfield, New Jersey, announce the availability of a 16mm sound film on the *Life of Theodore Roosevelt*, which covers the important highlights of his career. He is seen as Rough Rider, Governor of New York, Civil Service Commissioner, Vice-President and President. Clearly portrayed are his conservation policy, building of the Panama Canal during his administration, his development of our modern navy, and many other outstanding historical events. The picture, which runs seventeen minutes, may be obtained for a reasonable rental charge" (*Educational Screen*, March 1939).

"Pictorial Film Library, 130 West 46th Street, New York City, has secured exclusive rights to *Life in a Benedictine Monastery*, a three-reel 16mm film produced in France, and has added an explanatory commentary in English. The picture intimately portrays the life in a monastery in Normandie, showing the monks at their tasks—cultivating their soil, spinning cloth, preparing their manuscripts—and at their daily prayers. A novitiate ceremony is also seen. There are actual recordings of Gregorian chants and Latin prayers. This subject should have appeal not only to those of Catholic faith, but to general audiences as well since it portrays a kind of life which has changed little since the Middle Ages" (*Educational Screen*, March 1939).

"*Free Films for Schools* has just been published by the DeVry Corporation, 1111 Armistage Avenue, Chicago. It lists alphabetically 1400 free films from over 300 sources throughout the United States. Cross references under 60 different headings show at a glance what films are available for school projects. Physical data of each film is recorded, the number of reels, whether 16mm. or 35mm. and whether sound or silent. Addresses of sponsors or distributors of each film are also given.

"The catalog is a well printed book of 64 pages, 6 x 9, that sells for 25 cents" (*Educational Screen*, March 1939).

Mary E. Townes has recently published *Teaching with Motion Pictures: a Guide to Sources of Information and Materials* (New



York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. Pp. 25. 25 cents). Part I concerns the educational film as a teaching aid, part II the theatrical film as an educational force, and part III the making of motion pictures in the school.

### SAFETY EDUCATION

The Research Division of the NEA has published *Safety Education thru Schools* (Washington. Pp. 239-98. 25 cents. Research bulletin vol. XVI no. 5). The bulletin "discusses the teaching of safety and lists organizations in the field of safety, local and State courses of study, and motion pictures which should be of special benefit to curriculum committees."

### ISSUES WANTED

The American Book Company, 88 Lexington Avenue, New York City, will pay 50 cents each for copies, to a total of 100, of the January 1937 and May 1938 issues of *Social Education* (Volume I, Number I, and Volume II, Number 5) in suitable condition for binding.

### RECENT MAGAZINE ARTICLES ON TEACHING THE SOCIAL STUDIES

- Alvord, Wayne. "What Good Is History?" *Secondary Education*, VIII: 103-09, March, 1939. Changing aims of history teaching, with conclusion that history should and can serve an essential purpose.
- Atkinson, W. N. "Our Special Social-Studies Class for the Student Council," *Clearing House*, XIII: 342-44, February, 1939. The student council sessions substitute for the fifth class in the programs of its members.
- Cameron, David. "A Specially Adjusted Course in Personal and Social Problems," *School Review*, XLVII: 290-98, April, 1939. A course in Evanston, Illinois, that concerns earning a living, handling income, living with others, and personal care.
- Coleman, J. H. "Some Basic Problems of Consumer Education," *Clearing House*, XIII, 389-93, March, 1939. Urges that rational buying is essential, that consumers must be aware of the modern economic forces that are antagonistic to their best interests, that wants should be shaped consciously for enriched living, and that consumers must organize.
- Counts, George S. "The Current Challenge to Our Democratic Heritage," *Progressive Education*, XVI: 91-97, February, 1939.
- Cummings, Howard. "Teaching Propaganda Analysis," *Clearing House*, XIII, 394-98, March, 1939. Study of the radio, movies, and press in various aspects, with use of Institute of Propaganda Analysis publications.
- Curti, Merle. "American History and Democracy Today and Tomorrow," *Progressive Education*, XVI: 99-104, February, 1939.

Eberhart, Wilfred. "Evaluating the Leisure Reading of High-School Pupils," *School Review*, XLVII: 257-69, April, 1939. Report based on records at Bronxville, New York. In junior high school non-fiction constitutes only 12 per cent; in senior high school, 45 per cent. "Drama is remarkably popular, and the large number of books of biography and science indicates genuine interest in these areas. The amount of poetry read is slight. . . ."

Farthing, Dorothy K., and Gorman, Frank H. "The Selection of Modern Problems for Study in the Elementary School," *Educational Method*, XVIII: 243-45, February, 1939. Criteria, suggested problems, and a sample treatment.

Fleege, Urban H. "How Successfully Are We Developing Right Attitudes?" *Catholic Historical Review*, XXXVII: 233-37, April, 1939. More attention should be paid to testing attitudes; plea for help from Catholic graduate schools in developing tests.

Geduldig, Abraham, and Margolies, Abraham. "The Treatment of Military History in the Elementary School Syllabus and Text-books," *High Points*, XXI: 5-11, February, 1939. The New York City syllabus does not overstress military history; textbooks give more attention to it.

Gould, Kenneth M. "Social Pressures and Editorial Policy," *High Points*, XXI: 19-24, March, 1939. Influences and pressures brought to bear on classroom magazines.

Kaar, Galeta M. "Utilizing Community Resources in an Integrated Program," *Educational Method*, XVIII: 209-18, February, 1939. Program for a relatively underprivileged section of Chicago.

Kenworthy, Leonard E. "Developing Social Sensitivity," *Secondary Education*, VIII: 67-73, March, 1939. Needs and means in a school program.

McHugh, William H. "What is Character Education?" *Catholic Educational Review*, XXXVII: 225-32, April, 1939. Denies that character education is either new or divorced from other learning; develops principles.

Mead, Vera Olbert. "What Abilities Are Stressed in Workbooks in History?" *School Review*, XLVII: 284-89, April, 1939. An analysis of 43 workbooks published between 1926 and 1936. Reports that 42 per cent of learning exercises are concerned with collecting data, that problem solving abilities are neglected, and that the development and grade placement of learning activities need attention.

Note. For references on youth problems see the *Bulletins* of the American Youth Commission, sent free from 744 Jackson Place, Washington.

*Readers are invited to send in items—programs and accounts of meetings, curriculum changes and classroom experiments, or personal items of general interest—for "Notes and News." Items for September should be sent in by August 1.*

*Contributors to this issue include Ralph Cordier, Joseph C. Driscoll, George Engberg, Grace Frederick, Justin H. Hess, Henry Kronenberg, Benjamin Rosenthal, and Florence R. Tryon.*

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## BOOK REVIEWS

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**Eleventh Yearbook. Cooperation: Principles and Practices.** By the Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction of the National Education Association. Washington: National Education Association, 1938. Pp. ix, 244.

The idea of cooperation is fundamental in the teaching of the social studies. No other subject field offers equal opportunity for emphasizing that spirit. Its significance is stressed in the first two chapters of the book by J. F. Brown and S. A. Courtis. The first chapter maintains, in fact, that the recent and still current crisis in world affairs is not the failure of nature nor of physical science, but of systems that men themselves have brought into being. The second chapter brings out the various "levels" or means of bringing about cooperation. It notes that some cooperation has been the result of pure compulsion, but insists that competence, leadership, and, still better, democratic cooperation are much more desirable forms.

Passing over the next three chapters, except to note Miss Morrison's observation that education for democracy did not find much place in the schools of a century ago, in spite of the hopes of some of our leaders that schools might perpetuate democratic government, we come to the discussion of "The School and Democratic Living" in the chapter by Eldridge T. McSwain. Professor McSwain is not satisfied with the attitude schools have taken toward cooperation or the encouragement of democracy. He maintains that, difficult though it may be to bring about, it is only as children live cooperation in the school that they become qualified to practice it later on. Superintendent Misner carries that idea further by urging that in spite of difficulties in its attainment, democratic cooperative control can be

made to promote that efficiency which is often used as the excuse for the absence of democracy. Professor Harris of Pittsburgh believes that the ideal cooperation finds its fruition in the individual's identification of himself with the wider social welfare. He thinks that our young people should be made to feel such a gratitude to the past for the arts of our present civilized existence that they will feel a personal obligation to maintain and advance them.

The second part of the *Yearbook* reports on experimentation with cooperation in various situations—in school administration and between teachers and pupils in the classroom. Mr Williams, of the School of Education of Northwestern, describes what happened in one of the thirty schools cooperating in the curriculum experiment of the Progressive Education Association. He concludes that the great majority of teachers desired to share in the formulation of administrative policies, and a still larger percentage were willing to take part in such undertakings. There are many ways in which cooperation may take place, and the writer believes that there is a definite tendency in the direction of more participation on the part of teachers, patrons, and pupils in administering the schools. Professor McSwain's researches in this particular field, however, lead him to think that an acceptance of the ideal of democratic operation of schools in a democracy is not accompanied by a sufficiently extensive expression in practice.

Chapter xiii of the *Yearbook* is composed of reports on actual experiences in the school-room between teachers and pupils which show cooperation in the development of certain projects. These were selected from a much larger number as types of the use of various techniques. Some teachers will find helpful suggestions in them, though nothing from a senior high school appears. After all, isn't the

will to do things cooperatively the one essential element? Where the will exists, some way will be found. Overemphasis on technique might even spoil much of the effectiveness of the undertaking. And if one's idea of cooperation is to make everybody else do things in a foreordained way, it doesn't make much difference how the purpose is camouflaged.

R. O. HUGHES

Public Schools  
Pittsburgh

**Fascism for Whom?** By Max Ascoli, and Arthur Feiler. New York: W. W. Norton, 1938. Pp. 341. \$3.00.

It would hardly seem possible that anything new can still be written on fascism, whether of the German or the Italian variety. The authors of this book have, however, succeeded in adding new material and in bringing to the attention of American readers certain aspects of Nazi and Fascist policy which can not be ignored if American institutions are to be preserved. The two authors—one a victim of Mussolini, the other of Hitler—have divided the two countries between them and joined hands in sounding "The Warning Bell" of "International Fascism" in the first chapter and addressing a final note on "The Two Fascisms and Our Civilization" "To Whom It May Concern."

The discussions of the social and economic reconstruction in Italy and Germany are scholarly, detailed, and, without being deliberately pointed to that end, eloquently descriptive of the hoax that can be put over on a public lulled to sleep by promises or distracted from their own ills by a good campaign of hate. Expediency and opportunism, and changes moving toward forms of state capitalism, while fooling the public with diatribes against bolshevism, are characteristic of the so-called advances in both countries. Speaking of Germany, Feiler concludes, "Already Bolshevism and National Socialism look like twins bearing on their faces the same characteristic traits of the same parents—state-omnipotence and dictatorial totalitarian rule—and not only in regard to the political structure and methods of their states."

Democracies have been deluded by the repeated statements that neither National Socialism nor Fascism is for foreign export. And

yet "Trojan horses have been so much in demand by the Fascist nations that their manufacture has acquired the character of mass production; and still democratic countries are ready to open their doors to let them pass." And so the Anti-Comintern League which professes to save the world from communism is, with greater skill and probably more money, at work everywhere to undermine the institutions of democracy. In an article on "The Nazi International" which appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, October, 1938, and which was reprinted as No. 69 of the Friends of Europe Publications (London), the statement is made that in 1934 the Nazi authorities spent 262,000,000 marks (over \$65,000,000) on propaganda in foreign countries throughout the world, including the United States; on the authority of *Het Volk* (Amsterdam, December 16, 1937) it is stated that this sum had risen in three years to about \$105,000,000!

Fascism for whom, then? "Those will benefit from Fascism who will learn from it." Again, "Fascism must be resisted by the deliberate attitude of men who know that they are defending not a regime against another regime or a form of production against another, but truth against error, freedom against servitude, peace against the infinite ravages of war. This is not an appeal to a holy war; it is an appeal to faith based on faith." The past year has witnessed the slow awakening of democracies, the delayed realization of what they stand to lose unless they gird themselves to preserve and protect that faith. Books on National Socialism and Fascism have usually been looked upon as descriptive of curiosities against which we are immune. This book belongs to a series which should include Viscount Samuel's *War of Ideas*, Hans Kohn's *Force or Reason*, and Hamilton Fish Armstrong's *We or They*. Each points a moral which democracies ignore at their peril.

I. L. KANDEL

Teachers College  
Columbia University

**It Is Later Than You Think:** The Need for a Militant Democracy. By Max Lerner. New York: Viking, 1938. Pp. x, 260. \$2.50.

This small but unmodest volume is a significant contribution to the "crisis" literature of an American whose New Deal is fading. To



those teachers who adhere to the "devil" theory of politics and to those who prefer the posture of the ostrich in times of peril, it will have little appeal. It will prove stimulating, however, to those realists who face the conflict of ideas and classes and seek to acquaint themselves with the views and strategy of Right and Left and uncertain Center.

While on the editorial staff of the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* Professor Max Lerner now of Williams College increased his acquaintance with the several schools of political and economic thought essential to an understanding of the current crisis in world affairs, and he later gained knowledge of social conflicts as editor of the *Nation*. From these sources he has sought, after the example set by Professor Harold J. Laski, to weigh the chances democracy has for survival. Unlike Laski, however, he is concerned almost solely with America and attempts to develop a program and a strategy for political action. To the task he brings keen logic, shrewd analysis, intellectual honesty, and a lively, epigrammatic style. He maintains that the needs of the hour place emphasis upon action rather than delay. Democracy, to the author, means civil liberties without stint for all, majority rule, freedom for social change by majority action, economic democracy whether in trade union, school, or corporation, and belief in the dignity, responsibility, and capacity of the common man. Beset by communism on the left and placed on the defensive by international Fascism, democracy can no longer rely upon a liberalism long since divorced from its economic foundation. Threatened from within by a powerful oligarchy which frequently uses democratic forms as a mask for its control of the state and perplexed by the inability of unplanned capitalism to preserve traditional living standards, democracy must be "militant" if it is to survive.

Professor Lerner believes that economic planning is inevitable, and that the chief question is who is to plan, and in whose interest. Facing a future that leaves us only a choice between rival collectivisms, he contends that a "democratic collectivism" is the only acceptable goal of American democracy. This, he says, is the only means of preserving the essential human values and personal liberties of creative culture.

Threatened by war, which may disrupt the democratic program, and by fascism's powerful technique, democracy in America must contrive a "popular front" with sufficient strength and cohesion to stave off any attempted coup by the corporate oligarchy which, as in other countries, may prefer to destroy it rather than surrender its class domination. The transition to a "democratic collectivism" must be accomplished by democratic processes, be gradual enough to avoid violence from the right, and be effective enough to avoid economic breakdown. To this end, civil liberties must be preserved for the majority, and economic planning, in a score of basic industries, must promote an expanding production. Unlike the New Deal which after six years of action contains nine conflicting schools of economic thought and lacks both a goal and a method of attaining it, American democracy must adopt a long range economic program of socialization if it is to survive. Favored by far-flung regionalism and a strong tradition of civil liberty, it must overcome capitalist sabotage, preserve democratic government by refusing to let Fascist gangsterism cut the ground from under it, and solve the problem of transferring power from class to mass, without violence, if possible. This can be done by perpetuating the two-party system, by majority methods, and by subjecting necessarily enlarged governmental power to the unlimited democratic opposition of the minority. By such means the pitfalls of minority action and the single-party system can be avoided, which in communist and fascist states alike have led to continuing dictatorship and oppression. Once a stable, efficient economic system has been achieved, culture can be extended in an atmosphere of liberty to a widening circle among the masses under conditions that will furnish an unexcelled stimulus to the flowering of individual genius. In such a collectivism, "men can remain human" (p. 245).

"History Is Written by Survivors" (p. 255). If democracy is to fulfill its "historic mission" it must *survive*, face the perils of a crisis world, calculate its chances with frank realism, and act decisively when the hour comes. For those whose loyalties are committed irrevocably to the democratic tradition, "It Is Later Than You Think."

Although not all will accept the assumptions upon which this cogent and brilliant argument is founded, few will fail to appreciate its shrewd analysis of decadent liberalism and the Fascist pattern of action which casts so long a shadow over the western world. An especially fine distinction is drawn between the superficial similarities and fundamental differences of the Fascist dictatorships and Soviet communism. Few errors of fact mar the text, although it should be noted that the "Federalist" was not "the governmental organ" (p. 234) of its day. There is no index. Sympathetic readers will be disappointed to discover that Professor Lerner ignores the obstacles which the American constitutional system and the Southern one-party regime place in the way of peaceful transition to "democratic collectivism." His treatise remains, however, a courageous and constructive attempt to revitalize democratic thought and action.

CHESTER MCA. DESTLER

South Georgia Teachers College  
Collegeboro

**The Romance of Human Progress.** By Arthur Stanley Riggs. New York: Bobbs Merrill, 1938. Pp. xix, 405. \$5.00.

This book is well described in the preface as "compounded of the materials of ceaseless human curiosity," with special reference to the many queries about man's life in the past which the author received as editor of *Art and Archaeology*. It has taken form as an archaeological miscellany, enlivened by reminiscences of men who have enriched the human side of archaeology, and of the author's visits to notable sites. Some of the illustrations are from his own photographs; the others are drawn from a wide variety of sources. They present the processes of excavation, the geographical setting of the ancient world, vivid details of daily life, and reconstructions of ruined buildings. The book ranges from the Near East, Greece, and Rome to the Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas, with occasional discussion of China, India, and Islamic culture. Geographical and chronological factors are subordinated to the problems of human life, which form the essential framework of the volume, from food, "the first necessity and the greatest tyrant," to the grave, "the place of truth." The

reader may be perplexed by rapid shifts from one continent and millennium to another, for different phases of life are treated in terms of the culture which affords the most graphic material for them. The author's allusive style is provocative but sometimes confusing. He is at his best in the re-creation of real or imaginary scenes, which are depicted with a fine sense of color and movement.

This is not intended as a scholarly work of reference and should not be used as such. The sweeping generalizations and the correlation of the moral and aesthetic values of various cultures are vitiated by prejudices that will sometimes annoy those who have different concepts of human nature and the social organism. Egypt has chief place in almost every chapter, with abundant illustrations, and quotations from the papyri. And Egypt receives more of the author's admiration, and suffers less from his prejudices, than the other cultures surveyed. Assyria, on the other hand, in spite of all that we now know of its civilization and government, is reduced once more to its old status as author of "orgiastic cruelties," such as "never stained the record of a single Pharaoh" (p. 321).

There are more careless errors than should have survived final revision; a few examples of these may be cited. No one who has read the Roman satirists, for instance, can accept the statement that silk was practically unknown in Europe till the ninth century (p. 159), even if the monks who introduced silk culture into the Byzantine Empire in Justinian's day could be post-dated by three centuries. It is difficult to see how "less than a quarter of a millennium" could pass between the death of Christ and the acceptance of Christianity by Constantine (p. 189), or to ignore the many bearded Romans whose portraits were carved after 299 B.C., even if we could move Scipio Africanus back to that date (p. 316). Again, no one who has visited Epidauros will agree that "nothing is left" of its magnificent structures (p. 262), and the author himself shows that he has seen their ruins with an appreciative eye. On page 117 the Greeks are praised because they "offered no bloody sacrifices," but on page 241 we see Greek athletes at the Olympic Games "placing their hands upon the bleeding body of the sacrificial victim."

In spite of errors and inconsistencies, *The Romance of Human Progress* will give many readers a better understanding of current archaeological studies and of the unity and diversity of human life through the ages. But it should not be accepted as an authority on any topic without careful checking and should be used only with considerable caution in school assignments.

EVA MATTHEWS SANFORD

Sweet Briar College  
Sweet Briar, Virginia

**Those Gay Middle Ages.** Frederick D. Kershner. Chicago: Willett, Clark, 1938. Pp. xiv, 235. \$2.00.

The author of this book, dean of the School of Religion at Butler University in Indianapolis, Indiana, does not know enough about the period he calls the middle ages to attempt to interpret it. To judge from his bibliography he has not taken the trouble to find out much about it. The presence in it of *Selections from the Poems and Plays of Robert Browning*, the *Novellino of Masuccio*, and Shakespeare's *Henry V*, which are used to interpret the middle ages, and for which there could be substituted with profit some of the well known writings of American mediaevalists, does not qualify him to scatter with abandon his false *obiter dicta*. It would be pointless to try to list the errors the book makes and repeats, but as examples there can be offered the statement that "the armies of the Middle Ages were usually recruited from the serfs who lived on the land of their lords" (p. 12); the estimate of Charles the Great as "a crude blunderbuss of a barbarian" (p. 27); the opinion that "the true embodiment of the spirit of the Middle Ages . . . was Caesar Borgia" (p. 91); and finally with respect to the origins of syphilis: "It is more likely that the universal debauchery of the medieval period, after a certain length of time, evolved the disease" (p. 130).

Even if the author were careful with his facts, judging from his performance in this book, he seems to be unqualified to handle them. There is little evidence of any attempt at historical understanding. The periodization of middle ages and renaissance is accepted without any differentiation. One gets the impression rather that the renaissance was the middle ages. It does not seem to occur to the

author that there was ever any change in the period he loves to call benighted. There is a strange and uncomfortable quality in his lack of sympathy for the human beings of these centuries, and in his willingness to call them vile names, and to indulge in cheap humor at the expense of their weakness, ignorance, and above all things their religion. What he does is to revive the ancient prejudices of Protestant and Rationalist without even their learning. It is no better when the author condescends, from the vantage of his lofty modernity and progress, to say a good word for the period he is trying to hate. His encomia are as mistaken and exaggerated as his detractions.

This extravaganza of error and prejudice is justified on the plea that with the slogan "Back to the Middle Ages," many are trying to return to its fetid atmosphere. This would appear, however, to be only a kind of straw man. To write this kind of a book to counteract this kind of an idea is an indication that these "Dark Ages" are here, and that their censorship needs employment. We may wonder about the species of this "bird's-eye view of what the Middle Ages really were" (p. xiv). Someone has remarked that "if any age of the past seems to us a dark age, the darkness is as much in ourselves as in the facts."

EDGAR N. JOHNSON

University of Nebraska

**Historic New Rochelle.** By Herbert B. Nichols. New Rochelle, New York: Board of Education, 1938. Pp. xv, 212.

If "the fundamental condition of making history effective in the classroom is to invest the past with an air of reality" (Henry Johnson, *Teaching of History*. New York: Macmillan, 1937, p. 202), this vivid description of *Historic New Rochelle* deserves attention as an excellent example of local history as an aid to better teaching in the social studies. The author recognizes the value of acquainting pupils with a knowledge of the rich historical background of the city of their residence and approves in both preface and practice the benefit of linking local history with the national past. Planned by a committee of teachers appointed by the superintendent of schools, the book is chiefly the work of a high school teacher of the social studies who is well quali-



fied because of his wide knowledge of local history. Published by the board of education, it is a significant example of initiative on the part of school authorities to fill a known need.

The chapters are units in themselves and yet together make a rather complete history of the community, as the writer states. The reviewer can not agree, however, that such an arrangement in itself "makes it possible to use the materials in grades starting with the fourth" (p. viii)—certainly not as a textbook. Although the volume might be used by a fourth-grade child as a reference book for some particular topic, to expect him to struggle with "metamorphosed gneisses" (p. 112) or "isotherms" (p. 113) is a task not required by the Thorndike "Frequency List." The book seems admirably adapted to the first or second years in junior high school.

The problem of selection is as difficult a one in a local history as in any other, perhaps more so. While this treatment is unusually good in its scope, embracing the political, economic, and social threads of the community's development as illustrated by such chapters as "Democratic Government," "How New Rochelle Has Grown," "Stage Coach and Tavern Days," and "The French Church and Others," yet one feels that much else belongs in the chapter on the growth of the city and wonders why local journalism, music, and the arts receive practically no mention. Again it is a matter of selection, but one would scarcely deny that the associations of Augustus Thomas and Walter Damrosch with the community are of more importance than those of Walter C. Macready (p. 92) or John H. Roosevelt (pp. 84, 182). Apparently the writer is bothered considerably by what living people to include, and the problem admittedly is great, but it does seem that Carrie Chapman Catt's residence in the city and her work should have received priority in the text over the contributor of a photograph (p. 161). It would seem more logical, also, to have been consistent in naming only figures prominent in the development of local organizations rather than to name in one case a recently appointed executive (p. 178).

The chapter, "Education through the Years," is the weakest in the book. Evidently because of a desire for brevity, the whole truth is not told about the establishment of free

public education in New York state (p. 118). The reader is amazed to find New Rochelle called "a leader in establishing the position of superintendent of schools" in 1891 (p. 119), since New York state alone had over sixty town or city superintendents of schools in that year. Even the date of the establishment of the superintendency does not check with the Report of the United States Commissioner of Education which credits New Rochelle with such an officer as early as 1889. Development can scarcely be shown when no mention is made of additions to some school buildings or replacement of others. It seems incredible, but a high school is called "a real institution of higher learning" (p. 121). One can hardly justify the failure to mention the College of New Rochelle in this chapter, and it receives only the most incidental mention in the book. Parochial education receives no attention.

The book is profusely illustrated and the selection of pictures is excellent. At times they are described fully and accurately so that they are effective visual aids (pp. 23, 67, 97, 111, 147). Much opportunity is lost, however. For example, there are illustrations of the statue of Jacob Leisler (p. 22) and of the New Rochelle World War Memorial (p. 165), the first the work of Solon H. Borglum and the second that of Edmond T. Quinn, but there is no descriptive detail under these photographs that would indicate even the names of the artists. Both were sculptors of national renown (see sketches of each in the *Dictionary of American Biography*), and the *Victory* by Quinn is generally regarded as one of the outstanding memorials produced by the Great War (see description of it in F. J. Mather, C. R. Morey, and W. J. Henderson, *The American Spirit in Art* in *The Pageant of America* Series, ed by Ralph Gabriel, Vol. 12, p. 210).

To offset these criticisms there are really excellent chapters and brilliantly chosen materials. The format of the book is splendid. Beautifully printed on high quality paper, it has a helpful bibliography, fine index, and really useful historical-pictorial maps of the city and county. It can be read with profit by most adult residents of the city. As one of the most ambitious presentations of local history for school use, it confronts certain problems in selection and utilization of materials as well as in placing them against a true larger setting

of state and national history which will face other school systems when they become progressive enough to attempt to synthesize local history for its educational values in a social studies program.

RICHARD E. THURSFIELD

Teachers College  
Columbia University

**Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland.**

By Raphael Semmes. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1937. Pp. xvi, 856. \$5.00.

This book in its twenty-six chapters presents a somewhat episodic and anecdotal treatment of Maryland history during the seventeenth century with an impressionistic survey of phases of Maryland life. The author has written informally for the general reader, not fixing the limits of his inquiries within the fields of social, economic, or political history in order to make a comprehensive survey of the delimited area but overlapping those fields in accordance with interests developed by years of familiarity with the sources of seventeenth century history of Maryland.

The first six chapters give an account of the wilderness and its game, of voyage and voyagers to Maryland, of bay craft and bay traders, and culminate in a narrative of the activities of Claiborne and Ingle from Kent Island as a base. In the midst is inserted a chapter of miscellaneous materials on the proprietors and governors of Maryland. The next five chapters deal with the militia, with rangers and their work, the weapons of colonists and of Indians. A sixth on palisades or forts expands to tell of the colonies of Swedes and Dutch on the Delaware. The remaining fourteen chapters treat of the various Indian tribes of Maryland and of the relations between colonists and Indians, with special attention to this subject as preludes both to a re-survey of the revolution of 1689 and of the relations of French and Indians in America in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

The reader may be baffled by the lack of attention to chronology, may be confused by the faintness of the book's pattern, may question its principles of synthesis, or at times its interpretations of fact, may challenge the relevance of Elizabethan incidents, and may note the inclusion of twice-told tales. He will find nevertheless in this volume a reflection of

the author's strong interest in the period, and a great amount of Maryland lore with a wealth of colorful materials, many of them drawn from primary sources and unhackneyed, to lend reality to the seventeenth century scene. For the historical student, the book's greatest value will be found probably in the extensive and suggestive accumulation of materials, which while not drawing upon the invaluable resources of the Hall of Records and Land Office, both at Annapolis, includes in its wide range much from the less familiar volumes of the Maryland Archives dealing with the seventeenth century and is everywhere strengthened by careful documentation.

OLIVE MOORE GAMBRILL

New York City

**Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland.**

By Raphael Semmes. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1938. Pp. viii, 334. \$3.00.

This volume of ten chapters consists for the greater part of accounts of case histories selected from the Court Series of the *Maryland Archives*, volumes IV, X, XLI, XLIX, LI, LIII, LIV, to which the author, a member of the committee on publications for volumes LIII and LIV, has added comment and additional information. The strength and the limitations of this book are similar in character to that of *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland* by the same author.

Professor Richard Morris in the *American Historical Review* of January, 1939 (pp. 398-399) pointed out that the seventeenth century testimony of volumes LIII and LIV, drawn primarily from four county courts, is "sometimes revolting or sensational and sometimes riotously funny." The student of social or legal history in his research probably will draw directly upon the complete and more representative court records found in the archives for comparison with the important additional sources available, before he attempts a balanced treatment of the complexities in seventeenth century Maryland history. The student will not fall into the error of assuming that the court testimony, some of it of a character which in the twentieth century would be sealed, represents fairly the mores of a considerable portion of the population of the colony, but to the general reader for whom the book apparently is written a word of

warning in this connection may not prove entirely superfluous.

OLIVE MOORE GAMBRILL

New York City

**Social Work in Greater Cleveland: How Public and Private Agencies Are Serving Human Needs.** By Lucia Johnson Bing. Cleveland: Welfare Federation of Cleveland, 1938. Pp. 248. \$1.96.

This book presents a comprehensive view of the public and private agencies and was written to give high school students a clear conception of the social agencies of their city and to assist in preparing them for their social tasks of the future. Yet it is also intended to interpret the broader field of all social work. On the whole, the approach is factual and descriptive rather than critical, but the text is enlivened by historical sketches and summaries of typical cases. Also, it is interspersed with illustrations, graphs, and maps.

In all, there are twenty-five chapters. The first explains the meaning of social work. It is followed by a brief survey of public relief from the middle ages to the present day. Then the various types of social work are discussed, each in a separate chapter. Oddly enough, housing is not included. Is this considered outside the sphere of social work in Cleveland? Or are there no organized efforts to deal with the problem in that city? Surely the problem must exist. Except for this omission the picture of serving human needs is well rounded. The author has achieved a clear-cut exposition in a direct style and simple language that should be comprehensible and inspiring to high school boys and girls, provided they have enough background. However, it might be helpful if there were suggestions for supplementary reading, trips to be made, maps and graphs to be drawn, and lastly, a few pertinent questions at the end of each chapter. Perhaps, however, it is considered preferable to encourage pupils to do their own research with the aid of classroom discussion.

Certainly such a book would be of great value in the study of civics, history, and in certain courses of English. The teacher can easily find many ways in which the points can be illustrated. For although the general framework of social service may be unfamiliar, there are details that can be correlated with

the child's own experience. No doubt these boys and girls play in the public parks, visit the museums, and borrow books from the public library. Also, they may belong to a settlement, a youth organization with national affiliations such as the Boy Scouts, the "Y's", not to mention that they probably have been to camp in the summer. All such activities have a place in these pages.

The book should be important to high school teachers trying to develop high standards of character in their students. Perhaps these social agencies will not last in their present form, but it is essential to arouse social consciousness in the growing generation if the world is to improve. And it is no easy task to tell of social work in such a way. Mrs Bing has made a splendid contribution that should prove illuminating not only to high school pupils but to others who are only vaguely aware of the vast network of social service.

ETHEL S. BEER

New York City

**Problems of Modern Society: An Introduction to the Social Sciences.** By Paul W. Paustian and J. John Oppenheimer. New York: McGraw Hill, 1938. Pp. xii, 571. \$3.00.

Through a roughly historical treatment of social problems, with source materials indicating controversial approaches and interpretations, the authors have provided an introduction to contemporary society for college students. It is assumed that the student will thus be enabled to evaluate the major considerations involved. To facilitate this process questions and references relevant to the social problems are provided. Noteworthy are the lists of terms for student definition. The book itself is the product of a number of years of teaching such a course. The underlying assumption in the selection of problems is that by providing a sampling of social problems and approaches to the study of them the student will be able to expand his study to other social problems.

The chapters dealing with problems of the consumer, with the family, with population problems, and with racial differences are particularly well done. The emphasis upon political problems is extravagant, perhaps at the expense of deserved additional treatment of other social problems. For example, the



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Professor C. A. Robinson of Brown University has completely revised this book—a text that has been preeminent in its field for more than a decade. He has used the immense store of material accumulated in recent years by archaeologists and others to enrich the discussions of Greek social and cultural life throughout the book and to supplement historical data. The new edition contains 72 full-page plates and 17 new maps especially drawn for the book—the most distinguished illustrative equipment of any text of its kind.

## A POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE. *By Hayes*

Revised and Abridged Edition of Volume II \$4.00 (probable)

The abridgement of the second volume of Professor Hayes' *History* makes it an excellent text for courses dealing only with the history of the last hundred years or modern European history. By simplifying the material and putting the emphasis on the narrative rather than the encyclopaedic character of the original volume, the book has been reduced from about 1200 to 950 pages. At the same time all material has been brought thoroughly up to date through the Munich agreement and subsequent events. To be published in May.

## A SHORT HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1492-1939. *By Bassett*

Third Edition

\$4.00 (probable)

The present revision of the late Professor Bassett's one-volume *History* has been done by his son, with the guidance of three of the country's leading authorities: Professors Beard, Faulkner, and Curti. The material dealing with the period from the entry of the United States into the World War up to the present has been entirely re-written and substantially supplemented to bring it up to date in regard to both factual material and point of view. A new chapter on the changes in the social fabric between the Civil War and the World War has been inserted. All bibliographies have been brought up to date with copious lists of new books. To be published in May.

# MACMILLAN

general treatment of labor problems is fair but several basic factors are omitted or understressed. Technological unemployment, increased production with declining man-hours, increase in mechanization during the last eight years, the Mohawk Valley Formula, national mobilization of propaganda against labor unionization and the National Labor Relations Board, and the increasing insecurity of business enterprise are integral aspects of labor problems.

The presentation is designed to stimulate student interest and participation in the discussion of social problems. However, the definition of the terms "social problem" and "controversial" are not clarified effectively. "Controversial" too often implies a lack of basic information and operating techniques, for which is substituted a rationalized process of "talking about." In a book which frankly espouses the controversial it should be possible to take a more thorough inventory of our social and economic resources and technology and to project the findings with directive intent into the consideration of social problems. On this basis, it would be advisable to provide a more organized emphasis upon the nature and structure of society; to wit, upon social evolution, social change, recent social and economic trends, and potential social achievement. Social change is, for example, most emphasized in the chapters on the family, while it is given insufficient proportional emphasis in dealing with other social problems. Indication of the basic sources of modern society, coupled with evidence in terms of recent trends, would clarify the basic genesis of social problems. Construing the term "Controversial" thus would help in considering social problems. In Part V the authors have indicated their realization of this need, but a more comprehensive and explicit orientation would more effectively implement the social problem approach to the social sciences.

The use and value of a book such as this in an introductory course in social science is a matter of the particular situation. *Problems of Modern Society* would serve as a framework for such a course. Most aptly it might be used as a convenient source book of materials concerning social problems.

HAROLD R. BOTTRELL

St Helen's Hall Junior College  
Portland, Oregon

**Manual of Government in the United States.**  
By R. K. Gooch. New York: Van Nostrand,  
1939. Pp. xi, 791. \$3.75.

This manual for college and university introductory courses contains source material on national, state, and local government with running comment and discussion. A supplementary text might be desirable but probably not necessary. It may be too heavy for any but the very best secondary schools. The arrangement offers three main divisions: (1) origin of the government with citizenship and suffrage; (2) structure of the main divisions of our government, the legislatures in all three strata being discussed as a single problem, followed by the executive and the courts similarly discussed; (3) function of government, in three parts—legislatures, executives, and judiciaries—followed by an extended and stimulating treatment of the division and separation of powers. Arrangement and treatment are unusual but logical and convincing. It may be an open question whether young students can force their minds to hold the argument on functions in different territorial units. But, if they can, the advantage to be derived from this treatment over the usual one seems to justify widespread experiment with the new.

This note is offered to suggest that copies of this volume be provided in school and larger libraries so that expensive collections of sources may be safeguarded. Librarians are complaining about the destruction of valuable material by young people; and wide searching for sources by youngsters seems hardly the best use of their time. Discouragement often cools their ardor, and such a handy collection as this would stimulate it.

Not as a criticism, the reviewer regrets that it was not possible to include two valuable documents: the Ordinance of 1787, a pioneering effort in the development of democracy and home rule under the protection of federal expansion; and Elihu Root's famous address on Invisible Government, a plea for such organization of government as may remove from democracy the curse of rule by the private bosses, exercising power without responsibility.

EDGAR DAWSON

Hunter College  
New York City

**Living With Others: A Book on Social Conduct.**

By Laurence B. Goodrich. New York: American Book, 1939. Pp. ix, 294. \$1.00.

This book should be a most pleasant surprise for those of us who are extremely weary of the "goody-goody," "sweetness and light," "starry-eyed" books written to reform the younger generation, for it does not preach and avoids moralizing. Human foibles are brought to light, examined and disposed of pleasantly, with a deft combination of consideration for others and a hint of repayment to self.

Spiced with a fine sense of humor, and well balanced, the book is very readable and very teachable; a well qualified teacher should accomplish much by its use. Adults should find enjoyment in the reading and many chuckles along the way. Without the illustrations and in a different binding the fearless hostess could well place *Living With Others* in the guest room. As a textbook it fits several purposes. It can be used as the backbone for a course in social living; it has possibilities for a unit in social science; it can serve as a springboard for group guidance, either for a class in manners or as a home-room project. Grade level might

extend as low as the ninth grade, certainly it is well pitched as it moves upward toward the twelfth grade.

The book is difficult to criticize. The author says what he means in a manner which can not be misunderstood. The only question in my mind concerns the illustrations, which, while good, may give an impression more juvenile than was intended. Some serious minded "educators" may deplore the pleasant presentation. True, it is not profound from the viewpoint of vocabulary or the psychology of personality, but it evidently was not intended to be. Perhaps that is its strongest point. In my opinion this book is worth reading, owning, and using.

MILTON HAHN

General College  
University of Minnesota

**Amusements and Sports in American Life.** By Robert B. Weaver. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. xiii, 196. \$1.00.

This pamphlet-book with a flexible cover is designed, in combination with other works of a similar format, to supply compact supplementary reading materials in the general field

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**McGRAW-HILL BOOK COMPANY, Inc.**

330 West 42nd Street

New York

*Write for  
Further  
Information*



of American history, and it fulfills its mission commendably by supplying arresting and instructive data. In the preface the author calls attention to a truism that Americans are sport-loving people. Recreation is considered an essential part of successful home life. Community interest in amusements is typical of the American locality, large or small. Play is as much a part of the modern school as book-learning.

In six chapters the author treats his subject historically from colonial times to the present. He points out that many pioneer Americans frowned upon play as sheer waste of time, and even today people in different communities do not agree upon an acceptance of certain types of amusements. In order to pursue his subject with some degree of unity, the author was forced, in the seventh chapter, to present one sport at a time. This single unit-casting with its inner regard for chronology renders the single topic development even more arresting than the former historical period-castings, because the reader becomes engrossed in one sport at a time. It is difficult to imagine any boy or girl of high school age feeling bored with this exposition. There are, it is true, more sports of immediate interest to boys than to girls, but the girls will find plenty for their attention. The illustrations are carefully selected so as to show feminine participants, even in such sports as kettledrum, straw rides, fancy skating. Both pupils and teachers will delight in the flashes of humor that flow easily from the author's pen, the naive illustrations, the quaint snatches of poetry, the picture captions, and the carefully selected inserts, quoted from original sources. The author himself admits, frankly, that his presentation only scratches the surface. He adds a five-page bibliography to his work, almost all of which concerns his subject in America.

A book with compact treatment such as this has a decided place as a reference in American history. It will capture the interest of high school students and ought to interest teachers of health courses also. Without any open plea, or preaching, in behalf of healthful exercise, it conveys a vivid sense of the out-of-doors and of the exhilaration of sport and emphasizes the importance of being a sport and recreation fan, if not an actual participant. It is a book as attractive to grownups as to juveniles, and wholly within the reading range and interest of

the latter. Its ultimate effect upon its readers is to remind them that Americans are sociable beings, and perhaps to cause some of us to bemoan the fact that a larger America has weaned us away from the neighborliness of the quilting party and the husking bee.

LOUISE IRVING CAPEN

Barringer High School  
Newark, New Jersey

*The authors have submitted this reply to Dr Ludlow Bull's review in our April issue of Never to Die: the Egyptians in Their Own Words, selected and arranged with commentary by Josephine Mayer and Tom Prideaux.*

The Editor

*Social Education*

Dear Sir:

For the thoroughness of Dr Bull's review we are grateful, but fear that your readers may have been too overwhelmed by the long list of "minor errors" to reach his generous conclusions that the book "contains a good selection of translations," and "gives the layman a good picture of the culture of pharaonic Egypt."

Since the book was addressed to the layman, not the Egyptologist, it did not seem wise to take more material, as Dr Bull suggests, from Blackman's translation of Erman's *Literatur der Aegypter*. This text, with its frequent lacunae, is difficult going for the general reader. We did not use Ebbell's translation of the Ebers Papyrus, which Dr Bull recommends, because it was not available when our manuscript was being prepared. The criticism that our illustrations "should all have had their titles and dates beneath them instead of at the end of the book," overlooks the fact that the pictures were chosen primarily to

**American College Bureau  
28 E. Jackson Blvd.  
Chicago, Ill.**

A bureau exclusively concerned with the placement of high grade personnel in colleges and universities. Our service is nationwide and covers all the specialties and every academic level in this field. Our affiliated bureau, the Fisk Teachers Agency, at the same address, is concerned with the placement of high grade teachers and specialists on all levels. Both bureaus are active in the placement of executives and administrators.

illustrate the text. For this reason titles and dates were put at the end of the book.

Many of the "minor errors" are matters of opinion rather than fact.

Dr Bull says, "Neither of the two Intermediate Periods can properly be called 'hundreds of years' long." According to Breasted and Erman even the shorter period is well over two hundred years.

Dr Bull says, "The correct reading of the name of the earth god, Gêb (not Seb) has been known for half a century." Not all authorities agree. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge uses Seb, while Erman and Breasted use Keb.

Dr Bull says, "one would like to know why the compilers think the conception [of Ikhnaton's universal god] is 'perhaps overestimated.' Can it be they prefer national Gods?" No. We merely meant to suggest that polytheism may have been better suited to the Egyptian way of life.

Dr Bull says "the belief that the horse was introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos is based simply on the fact that the horse is never mentioned or depicted in Egypt before that time, but occurs frequently from then on. The Carnavon tablet is not important on this

point." The importance of the Carnavon on this point is explained in "The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose, The Carnavon Tablet, No I," by Dr Alan H. Gardiner in *Journal of Egyptian Archeology*, III, 1916.

Dr Bull says, "Such evidence as there is seems to place the Exodus in the thirteenth century B.C." Our remark about the Exodus was not stated as a fact, only as a possibility. Dr H. R. Hall writes "it surely does not seem so very improbable that . . . the Biblical account of the Exodus is the Hebrew version of the Expulsion of the Hyksos."

Dr Bull says, "The disturbance for which the castor oil bean is recommended in the Ebers Papyrus is actually the opposite of the condition named by the compilers!" The compilers named no condition. The reviewer erroneously assumed that the picture of a woman vomiting illustrated the castor oil cure, whereas the caption under it is clearly a quotation from "Remedy to Drive Away Indigestion." Evidently Dr Bull did not read this remedy carefully, nor the "Memorandum on the Use of the Castor Oil Tree."

JOSEPHINE MAYER  
TOM PRIDEAUX

A new book

# LIVING WITH OTHERS

a sociology for secondary schools

Kinneman-Ellwood

THIS book approaches the study of sociology through the institutions of present-day society:—the community, the family, the state, the institutions of opinion (the press, radio, and movies), modern industry, educational and character-building institutions. The authors relate the problems of "living with others" to situations that high school boys and girls can understand and in which they have an immediate personal interest. A large number of carefully chosen half-tone illustrations add to the concreteness and attractiveness of the book. *In press.*

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

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Chicago

Dallas

Atlanta

San Francisco

*Dr Bull's rejoinder was received after this issue had gone to press. In it he maintains his original position on the points raised by the authors, remarking, however: "As I have said above, I am sorry the compilers of this book felt hurt by my review. My purpose in writing it was simply to help the reader and to make suggestions which I hope may be useful to the compilers in case, as I hope, another edition may be required later."*—EDITOR.

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